PACIFICA RADIO ORCHESTRATES ATTACKS AGAINST LISTENER-SPONSORED KPFA (SEE P. 6)

COMMEMORATOR

Published by the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party

Volume 10, Number 1 **Suggested Donation $1.50** **February 2000**

Worldwide Movement Demands Release of Mumia Abu-Jamal

By Melvin Dickson

"They don't want my death; they want my silence."

— Mumia Abu-Jamal

A growing international movement of working-class people and others of militant stance is demanding a new trial for, and the release of Afro-American political prisoner, activist, former Black Panther Party member and award-winning journalist on Pennsylvania's death row, Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The Philadelphia-based radio journalist, known as the "Voice of the Voiceless," was convicted by Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas Judge Albert Sabo in 1982 of the murder of a white police officer. His appeals for a new trial at state and federal court levels and at the United States Supreme Court have been denied. A stay of Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge's warrant of execution is now pending subsequent to the October 15, 1999 filing of a Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus in federal district court.

Federal District Judge William H. Yohn, Jr. is expected to hear oral argument in April or May, pursuant to written memoranda from defense and prosecution, then decide whether an evidentiary hearing should be held to consider evidence that was ruled inadmissible by the state court.

Commemorator photo

Hundreds of young people from California's Bay Area join black and other community activists December 11, 1999, to show support for Mumia Abu-Jamal's fight for justice.

Heads of state, religious, political, minority, legal, academic and community leaders have joined working people to condemn Mumia's conviction and condemnation to death as a "travesty of justice." One hundred fifty thousand school teachers in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, struck for two hours to demand Mumia's release. The International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)

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Hilliard Candidacy Based on BPP-Ten Point Program

Commemorator photo

David Hilliard, former Black Panther leader and candidate for West Oakland's Third District, talks with supporters in downtown Oakland.

Oakland, CA — David Hilliard, former Black Panther Party (BPP) leader and current candidate for Oakland City Council's third district seat, has based his platform on the Black Panther Party's Ten-Point program. If he has his way, West Oakland voters will go to the polls in March and elect Hilliard as their district representative over the incumbent Nancy Nadel and three other official candidates.

Either way, Hilliard's campaign platform, which has addressed poverty and class and racial oppression, provides an opportunity to galvanize the West Oakland community into a force to be reckoned with by local officials.

In West Oakland's third district, 80% of the population is Afro-American, low-income, unemployed or retired. Hilliard hopes to bring on board not only former Black Panther Party supporters but also young adults who had not been born 30 years ago in the era when the Black Panther Party was formed.

The Ten-Point Program

Summing up the Black Panther Party Ten-Point Program, *The Commemorator* Editor and Commemoration Committee (CCBPP) Chairman, Melvin Dickson put it this way, "It's really about living wage employment, the end to police repression and the prison industrial complex, the right to housing fit for human

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Editorial

Mumia and the Prison Industrial Complex

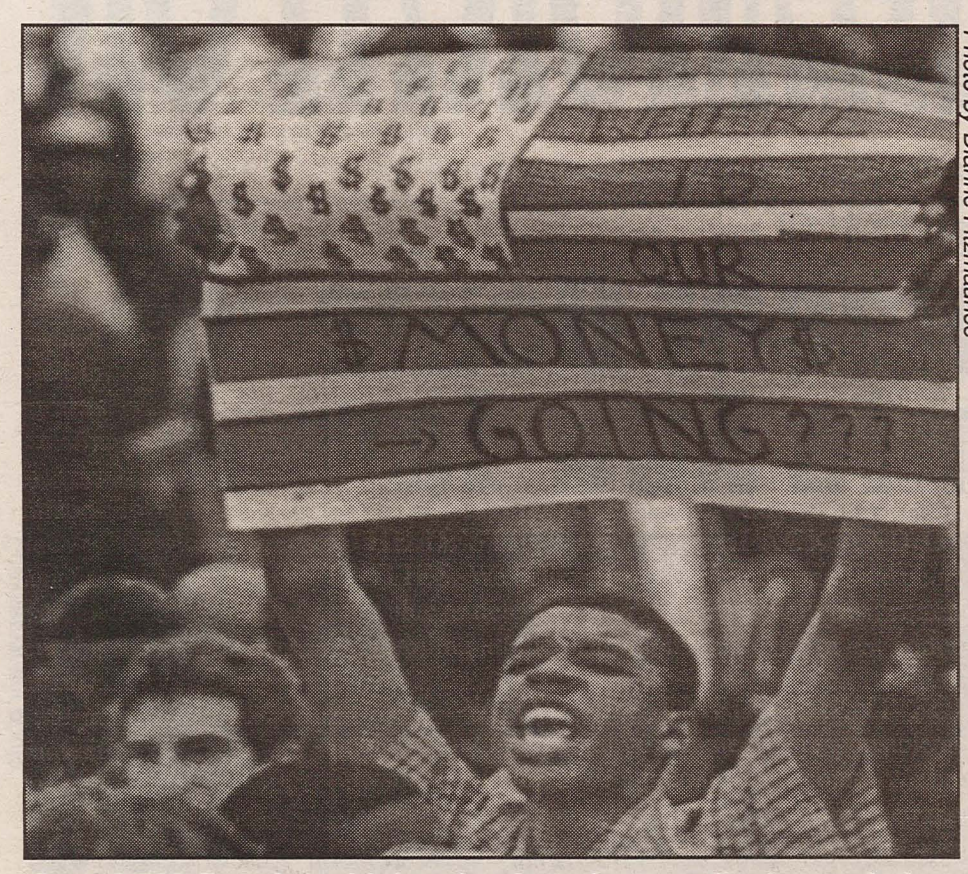

Photo by Dianne Fitzmaurice

Over 2,500 Bay Area high school students walked out of class and went on strike to protest the amount of money funneled into prisons rather than education in California.

"Prisons were not institutionalized on such a massive scale by the people. Most people realize that crime is simply the result of a grossly disproportionate distribution of the wealth and privilege, a reflection of the present state of property relations. There are no wealthy men on death row, and so few in the general prison population that we can discount them altogether. Imprisonment is an aspect of class struggle from the outset."
(George Jackson, *Blood in My Eye*)

The powers that be are determined to silence former Black Panther Party member, outspoken journalist and death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Mere imprisonment has not silenced him and, despite a death warrant hanging over his head, Mumia continues to fight against political, social and economic injustices from his Pennsylvania state prison cell every day through written and verbal commentary. The fight for Mumia now spans the world as working people speak and demonstrate for his release and freedom, while his legal defense team struggles for Mumia's constitutional rights and life in the court room.

Mumia, quoting Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black, reminds us that "there can be no equal justice where the kind of trial a man gets depends on the amount of money he has," explains to us daily why and how the civil and constitutional "rights supposedly protected by the United States legal system are illusions" and "legal fiction" for the majority of us who are poor. He explains that, in fact, there are two criminal justice systems in the United States: one for the well-to-do and another for the poor.

Mumia tells us on a daily basis there can be no "justice for all," "effective assistance of counsel," or a trial by a "jury of one's peers," in the context of an economic system dependent on expansion of the prison industrial complex — there are astronomical corporate profits being made through construction, development, maintenance and management of prisons and prison security systems — as well as through the largest and ever-growing prison slave labor force in the world, now numbering over two million.

The Growth of the Prison Industrial Complex

The United States has the highest per capita incarceration rate in the history of the world. Nationwide spending on prison construction grew by $1 billion in 1995 alone, according to the New York Prison Moratorium Project, as the cost of building and operating prisons jumped four fold from $6.8 million in 1980 to $30 million by 1997, according to Kriston Bloomer *(In These Times*, March 17, 1997). Spending on corrections at the state level has increased faster than any other category of public spending at the expense of education and social services, and an increasing proportion of this money goes to private companies. Between 1971 and 1992, public spending on prisons alone jumped from $2.3 billion to $31.2 billion — growing at a faster rate than Medicaid, higher education and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (now Temporary Aid to Needy Families).

Private prisons have grown at four times the rate of public prisons, and experts soon expect revenues to top $1 billion. The stock-market value of private prison companies continues to rise. Share prices for Corrections Corporation of America (CCA) the largest private prison corporation in the world, quadrupled over a four-year period before 1997, and they have continued to climb. Smith Barney, the investment firm, is part owner of a prison in Florida. American Express and General Electric have invested in private prison construction in Oklahoma and Tennessee. Corporations are receiving an increasing amount of tax dollars to operate private prisons or provide prison sevices, while other corporations are taking advantage of the cheapest labor available domestically, where the average hourly wage is 17 cents an hour. Prisoners do data entry for a myriad of computer companies, make flight reservations by telephone for airlines, and manufacture everything from furniture to clothing to houses.

"Low occupancy is a drag on profits," according to a report on CCA by Prudential Securities. This is true for corporations operating prisons and corporations using prison labor. "The fine tuning of earnings figures hinges critically on bed count and when new prisons become occupied."

Three Strikes and You're Out

Financial incentive encourages both high incarceration rates and miserly expenditures for prisoner services including medical care and education; and basics such as food and housing. Laws have been passed on the state and federal level to insure prisons stay full and/or overflowing.

California's three strikes law, and other mandatory sentencing laws, for example, work to provide a body count for profit rather than promoting either rehabilitation or crime prevention which would serve public or individual interests. California introduced the nation's first three strikes law, which differs radically from those passed in other states, according to a lengthy article in *Investor's Business Daily* (November 30, 1998). The law was intended to keep violent repeat offenders off the streets. But the law is enforced inconsistently by the counties, according to David La Course, an activist who helped write the Washington state law. Consequently, the third strike which leads to life in prison is often for a non-violent offense. Over 75% of all "two strike" and 50% of all "three strike" cases are for nonviolent or non-serious offenses; multiple counts during one act can count for multiple strikes; the law is applied retroactively to crimes committed in the 1970's or earlier; and crimes committed by 16 and 17 year-old can count as strikes. In Los Angeles County, the number of African-

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Opinions and positions taken in articles with bylines are those of their writer. The views expressed in the bylined editorial and opinion pieces published by The Commemorator *do not necessarily indicate its endorsement or support. — The Editor*

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COMMEMORATOR

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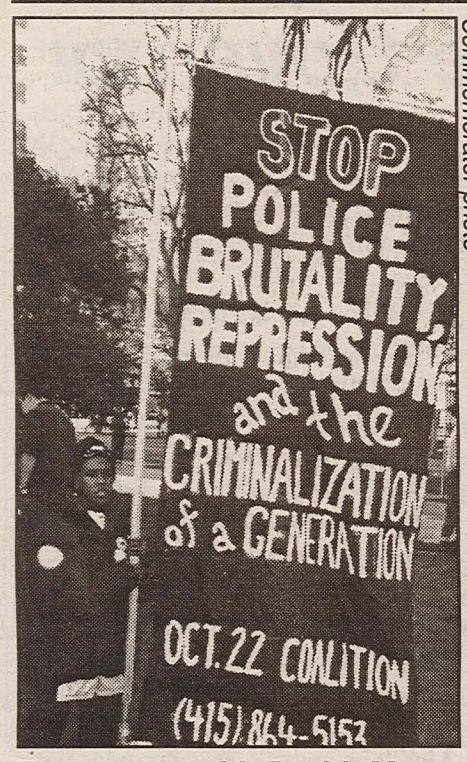
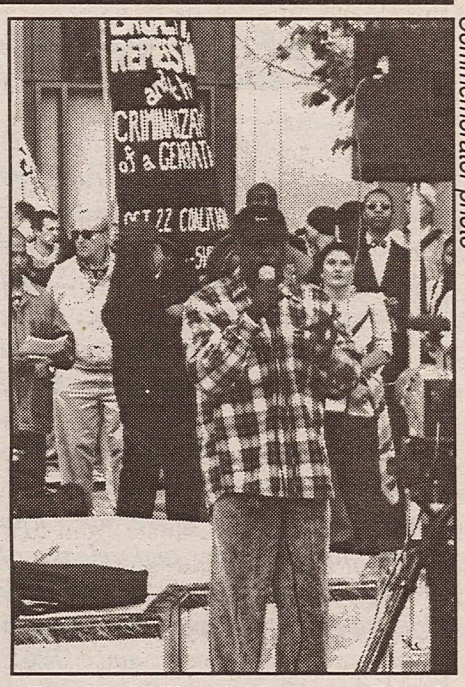
OP-ED

Youth and Activists Take Stand Demanding Mumia's Freedom



Commemorator photo

Eleven year-old David Mason holds poster denouncing the "criminalization of a generation" at the December 11th protest against Mumia's imprisonment.



Commemorator photo

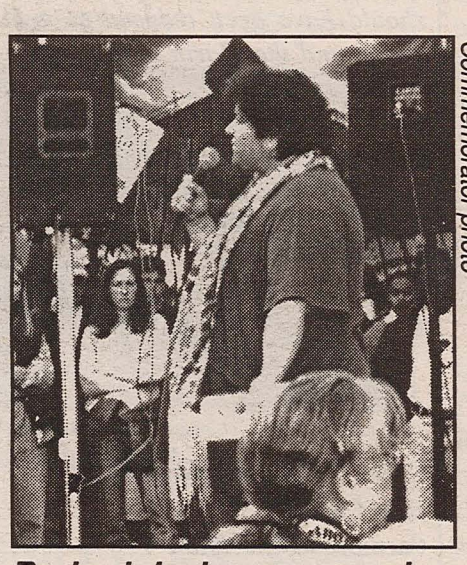
David Hilliard, former Black Panther leader and candidate for Oakland City Council, Third District, speaks at the December 11th protest rally to free Mumia and all political prisoners.

Commemorator photo

Young hip-hop dancers, rap, and reggae artists performed December 11, 1999 at an Oakland, California march and rally to demand freedom for journalist and death row prisoner, Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Commemorator photo

Larry Holmes of the People's Campaign, an organization leading the national and international mobilization to free Mumia, urges all concerned community residents to continue to organize and fight increasingly repressive police policies toward low-income black, minority and poor workers.



Commemorator photo

Rachael Lederman, a volunteer attorney with Mumia Abu-Jamal's defense team, updates rally attendees on the legal battle for Mumia's civil and constitutional rights.

Purveyors Of Violence?

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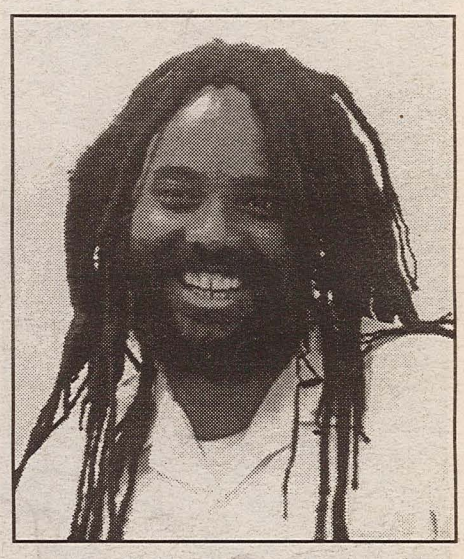
The system will point guns at people and say that it is in defense of the system. People can point guns at the system and it is seen as wrong, leading people to believe that when the system points guns at people it is in the right of defense but when folks point guns at the system it is in defense of nothing...

— John Africa, *The Judge's Letter*



According to published reports, the planned meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO) was "marred by violence," and wrecked by "thugs," "anarchists" and "hooligans." The danger of such mainstream media reports, however, is in the reliance upon police and other government sources to prepare such material. In a mass action, such as the Seattle anti-WTO marches, police are hardly neutral sources, for they are, in essence, combatants. Isn't it simply fair to present both sides?

Jim Desyllas, a college student from Portland, reported via pay phone to Internet typists who sent his observations around the world. His eyewitness account is, to say the least, enlightening. The following are excerpts:

...[T]he government instigated a "riot" to discredit the movement against the WTO because they couldn't dilute it. I am not guessing about this. I was there. I saw it happening. And I will tell you I am frankly shocked to see, close up, just how little our leaders care what happens to ordinary people. Clinton can pose and speak a lot of flowery stuff, but the truth is we are nothing to them. I saw this with my own eyes...

Desyllas' report, dated late November and early December 1999, recounts the "aggressive non-violence" of the anti-WTO marches, and compares the single breaking of McDonald's storefront window favorably to what occurs at a "typical rock concert." Police used that instance to launch their attacks against the people:

A small group, maybe 100 people total, struck back. Then these cops herded that group around the city, making sure there were plenty of "photo ops" of "violent protesters." A number of times they had these 100 or so protesters caught between buildings and walls of police. They could easily have arrested and detained this small number of people and gotten it over with. Instead they would gas them and let them go...When you gas a person, let me tell you, it gets them fighting mad. Tuesday night the police gassed all of downtown. This was going on from 3 p.m. till 6 p.m. Gas everywhere. The kids broke a few windows

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Joint Action for Mumia February 28, 2000

PLACE: U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco, CA.

This West Coast demonstration will coincide with mass civil disobedience at the U.S. Supreme Court Washington D.C.

For further information: P.O. Box 3585 Oakland, CA 94609.

(510) 389-2377

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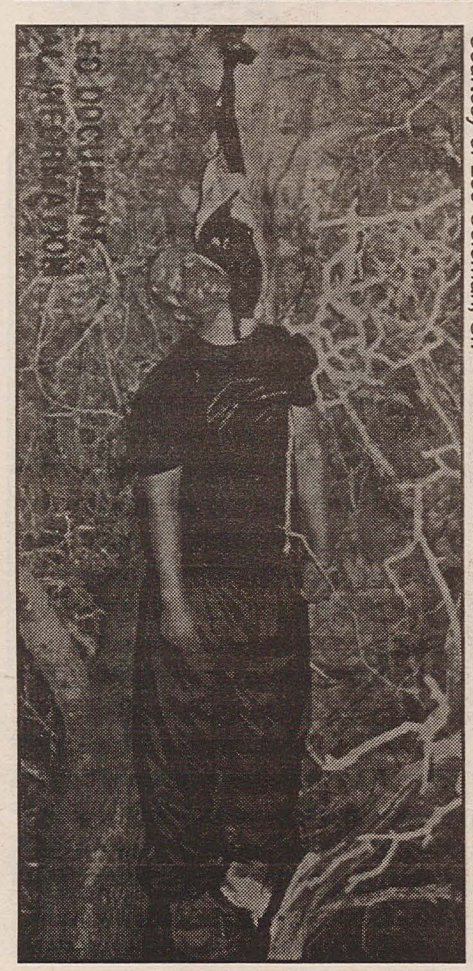

Courtesy of Leo Coleman, Sr.

Leo Coleman, Jr.'s body found November 24, 1997 in Shasta County, California

Editor's Note: The following is a second follow-up letter from representative Barbara Lee to the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice about the dead body of Leo Coleman, Jr. found hanging from a tree in a remote wooded area in a small town near Redding (Shasta County) California in late November, 1997. The local authorities led the deceased's family to believe that they would do an autopsy which they did not do but closed the case after three days and called it a suicide. To date, Congressman Lee has received no response.

Leo Coleman, Jr. Update

CONGRESS of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515-0509

October 6, 1999

Mr. Bill Lann Lee
Acting Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division Department of Justice, Main Office Building, Room 5111, 950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear Mr. Lann Lee:

I am writing to follow up on your August 8, 1999 response to my inquiry in connection to the November 24, 1997 hanging death of Mr. Leo Coleman Jr., in a wooded area of Anderson, California.

In your correspondence you stated that your office would request that the FBI conduct an investigation on Mr. Coleman's case. I would greatly appreciate an update on the progress of the investigation, as well as any project outcomes. Please forward your response in care of my Staff Assistant, Michael Riggs, in my Oakland district office.

The Honorable Barbara Lee
1301 Clay Street, Suite 1000-N
Oakland, CA 94612

Mr. Riggs may be reached at (510) 763-0370 Extension 21. Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely,
Barbara Lee
Member of Congress

Hugo Pinell: "I'm Your Brother"

December 23, 1999

To: Everyone in the Committee:

Taking this opportunity to connect and let you know I've received your holiday greeting card and to thank you for the attention, love and support you've extended to me.

Know that my overall health is good. That my endurance, resistance and commitment remain stronger and more unshakable than ever. That the best of my positive energies are constantly transported to you and all oppressed to keep us always connected and moving forward.

Stay learning, growing and working. Stay positive and keep good health. Hasta la victoria, keep on pushing! Big hugs to all.

In life and struggle, unity, justice and love.
I am your brother,

Hugo S. A.
P. S. Alias Yogi Bear

Ruchell Magee: *Letter to the Governor*

Editor's Note: Dr. Huey P. Newton said, "We cannot truly free our political prisoners until we are free." We can conclude from his statement, that it is up to friends and relatives of prisoners to unite in the fight against economically oppressed conditions where it is a crime to be poor.

It is within this context The Commemorator *is publishing the following appeal to Governor Gray Davis for clemency and release of Ruchell Cinque Magee, submitted by his supporters. Magee has been in California state prison since 1963, including 17 years in Pelican Bay's (Maximum) Security Housing Unit; his case is a travesty of justice.*

Again, during the first trial (May 1963) a guilty plea was entered by J. Stanley Brill over Magee's objection.

Magee was initially imprisoned for a $10 crime, and has been illegally held since for his alleged participation in the 1970 events led by Jonathan Jackson, despite a not guilty finding by the jury, which was suppressed from the public by the California Attorney General's office under Evelle Younger, and retried in Santa Clara County, a violation of the constitutional right against double jeopardy.

Additionally, under the 1976 SB 42 matrix, the initial sentence for kidnapping and robbery of $10 should have been reduced to eight years, and the Marin County courthouse kidnapping charge should have been reduced to 25 years maximum. Magee has served his time and should be freed forthwith.

The following is a reprint of a request for pardon submitted on behalf of Magee to California Governor Davis.

April 15, 1999

Office of Governor Gray Davis
State Capitol
Sacramento, CA 95814

SUBJECT: A Request for Pardon

We concerned citizens, offer the facts enumerated below in support of a plea for executive pardon for Ruchell Cinque Magee, presently held prisoner at the California State Prison known as Pelican Bay, Crescent City, California.

1) Mr. Magee was given a sentence of seven years to life on June 23, 1963 by the Superior Court of Los Angeles County (Case No. 272227). He and his co-defendant Leroy Stewart were charged with kidnap and robbery of $10.

2) On December 16, 1964, the Court of Appeals, Second Appellate District, reversed the judgment based on improper consolidation of separate cases.

3) The retrial, held in the same court before the same judge, renewed the seven year to life sentence.

4) In March of 1970, seven years from the date of arrest (March 23, 1963), Mr. Magee was eligible for parole, but the Board failed to hold a hearing without explanation.

5) On August 7, 1970, San Quentin Prison officials removed Mr. Magee from a dungeon cell to the Marin County Superior Court building as a witness for prisoner James McClain, who was charged with assaulting a prison guard. During the trial, control of the courtroom was seized by a 17-year-old free black man named Jonathan Jackson in an effort to call attention to the racism and barbaric conditions prevalent at that time in the California prison system. Mr. Magee, having despaired of ever gaining a hearing on the issues in his own trial, joined James McClain, prisoner William Christmas and Jackson in a bid for freedom.

6) In the aftermath, State Attorney General Evelle Younger issued indictments throughout the Marin County Grand Jury charging Ruchell Magee and Professor Angela Davis with kidnap, conspiracy and the murder of Judge Harold Haley, who was killed by police fire as the group left the courthouse parking lot.

7) Professor Davis was acquitted while Magee's trial was concurrent in San Francisco County (Case No. 68668).

8) On June 8, 1972, Judge Morton Colvin reversed Superior Court Judge Ginsburg's ruling of March 20, 1972 allowing Magee to act as his own counsel.

9) The trial jurors in Magee's case on April 2, 1973, delivered by note to Judge Colvin a vote taken which granted acquittal on the charge of PC209, aggravated kidnapping. On April 3 Judge Colvin declared a mistrial, without honoring the acquittal or polling the jury in open court. Judge Colvin in so doing ignored the jury and the law (Evidence Code 1151) requiring an open court hearing as to jury verdicts.

10) On April 27, jury foreman, Bernard Suyares, joined by others of the jury filed a notarized declaration stating that "All twelve jurors found the defendant *not guilty* on the charge of kidnap (PC209)."

11) Again, in the retrial, Magee was refused permission to act as his own counsel, and the court appointed lawyers allowed concealment of the

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Purveyors of Violence

Continued from page 3

– McD's, Starbucks – small stuff – burned a few garbage cans. The police were using these people as extras. It was staged. I believe also the police had their own people in there, encouraging people to break stuff. If people think I may be exaggerating, I saw supposed protesters – they were screaming and so on – and later, when everything was over, the same people tackled other protesters and put handcuffs on them.

I bet this report didn't get covered in the corporate media, huh? Meanwhile, protesters, even those who were "aggressively nonviolent" were violently gassed, kicked, beat and shot by "peace officers." Is a "rubber" bullet a nonviolent bullet? People in Northern Ireland certainly don't think so, for there, fourteen people were killed – seven children – by "rubber" bullets. In Seattle, Desyllas witnessed a cop shoot a man in the mouth, breaking out his front teeth. Do you remember a headline, a TV story, or a radio report calling these violent cops "thugs" or "hooligans"? I thought not. How then can the corporate media be trusted? And who is truly "violent" — one who attacks property, or those who hurt people?

Similarly, wire reports claimed a "minor explosion" in Zurich was caused by a so-called "Mumia Support Group" there. Does this sound familiar?

What's the point of this? It ain't in our interest, and sounds suspiciously like state efforts to undermine a popular, nonviolent movement. Moreover, bombs ain't our way, but it is the way of the state, as shown in Iraq, in Sudan, in Afghanistan, and in Philadelphia in 1985. This system viciously bombed babies on May 13, 1985 with utter impunity – not buildings – but the bodies of babies, and calls us "violent"!?

Kids in Seattle break half a dozen windows and the media labels all protesters as "violent." Cops beat, gas, shoot and kick several hundred people, and the media reports they "acted with restraint." Cops masquerade as protesters, and the media is silent. This same media reports a group most of us have never heard of detonated a "minor explosion" in Zurich. Sounds like the latest incarnation of COINTELPRO, doesn't it?

Our belief is not in bombs, but as you read these words bombs are still being dropped by U.S. planes over Iraq, not on buildings, but on people. To quote Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., America is "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today."

The Journalist

by Tolbert Small

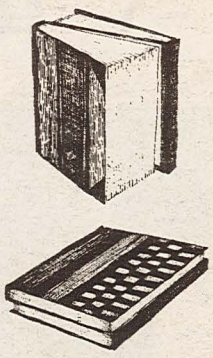
You seek the truth in an untrue world.
You blister the politicians in their lies and deceit.
You open up the pestilent sores that plague our nation.
Let the pus of greed and graft flow into the gutter.

You provide a voice for the voiceless.
You use the news to both educate and liberate.
You bring knowledge to the ignorant.
You bring hope to the hopeless.

You tremble the pillars of power.
Who shield the "pigs" brutality.

You, sir, are a journalist, the *Vox Populi.*

werecat



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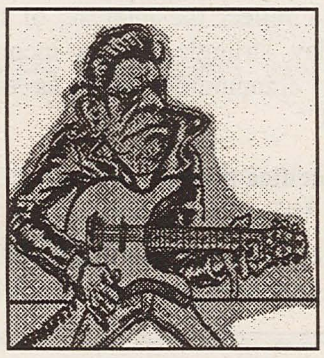
SUBWAY GUITAR

During the last century the apparel industry made millions from the despicable institution of slavery. This century nothing has changed, except Asian women and children have replaced African workers, securing obscene profits for the slavers of the apparel trades. Nike, Gap, Levi-Strauss — and many others — have upped the stakes by adding the insidious aspect of selling self-esteem through their corporate insignias and logos, a practice especially insidious to the descendants of American slaves. Money budgeted for food and education is squandered on the stupid swoosh for a family member. Would Michael Jordan take 20 million annually for promoting Nike wear if the products were sourced from child slave labor in Africa? Absolutely! Is this the lesson we want our future leaders to learn?

Free Mumia



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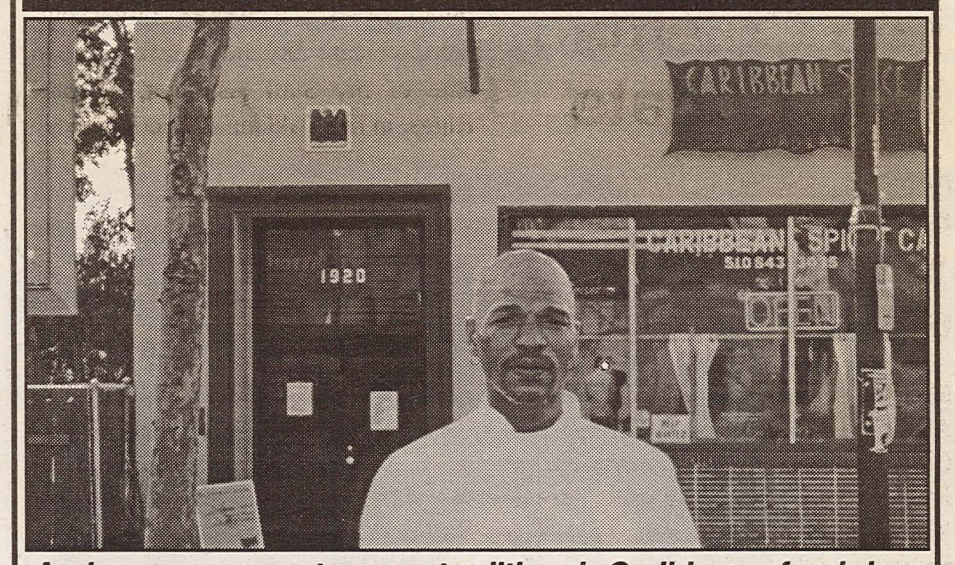
Samuel Fredericks

Caribbean Spice
Restaurant and Club



Andre serves customers traditional Caribbean food in a Caribbean motif.

The *Caribbean Spice Restaurant,* known for its authentic Caribbean food, has just celebrated four years in business.The restaurant is nestled in the heart of West Berkeley north of University Avenue at 1920 San Pablo Avenue.

Andre enjoys welcoming his customers and making them feel at home. Andre is usually in the kitchen preparing one of his special home cooked meals, while another member of the close-knit *Caribbean Spice* team is graciously assisting their customers while they wait for their meal. The *Caribbean Spice* menu features Halal and vegetarian dishes, and many of the herbs and vegetables from the restaurant's own garden. Andre hopes to only use their home-grown herbs, fruits and vegetables.

Many of their customers come to just sit, relax, converse and have an award winning Ginger Beer — a non-alcoholic beverage — while enjoying the scenic mural of a Caribbean beach on the stage wall of the restaurant and listening to Caribbean music and light Jazz. Some customers respond to their urge to dance.

The *Caribbean Spice* has hosted and sponsored several benefits and fund-raisers for the community, and this effort continues. The restaurant is now available for fundraising events on Friday and Saturday nights.

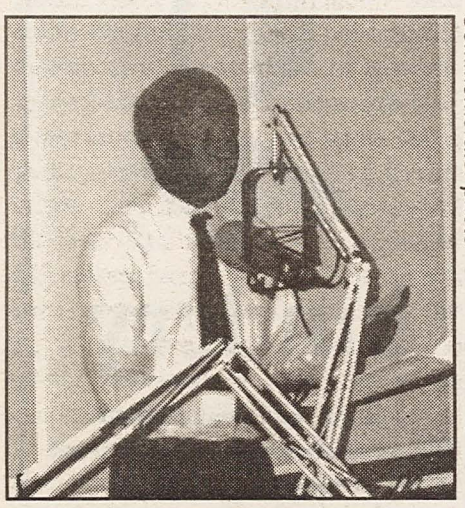
***Caribbean Spice* is now open for dining from noon to 3 PM and 5 PM to 10 PM Tuesday through Friday, noon to 10 PM on Saturday, and until 9 PM on Sunday.**

To make reservations, order take-out, or arrange catering or a fund-raising event, please:

Call: (510) 843-4330
Fax: (510) 848-0200

1920 San Pablo Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94702

Black Journalists Step Forward to Fight for Local Independent Radio



Commemorator photo

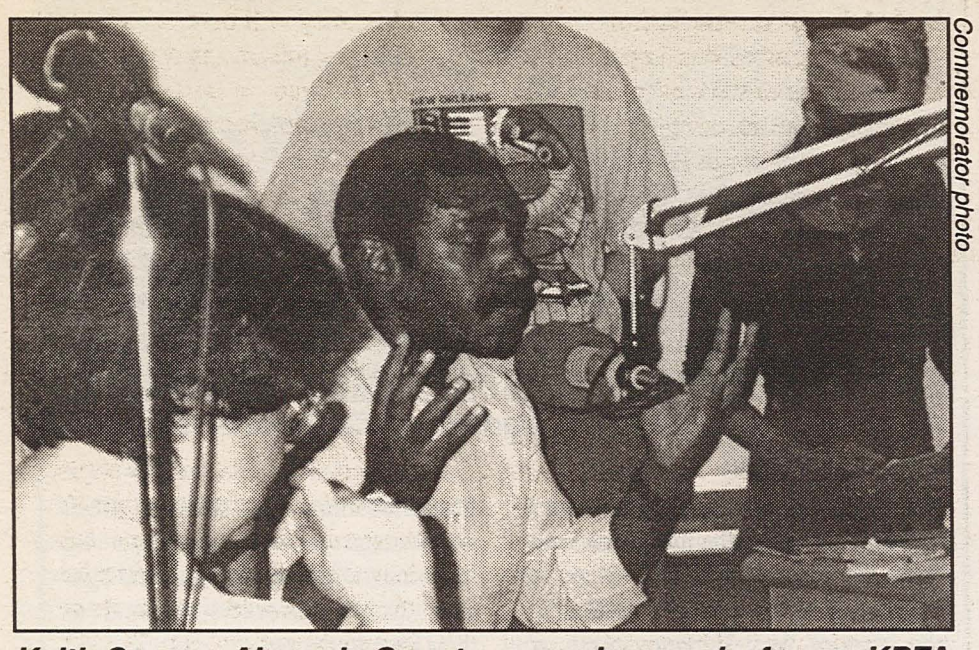
Wendell Harper, an award winning radio journalist at KPFA, speaks about the fight for independent radio.

Editor's Note: Since the days of chattel slavery, black journalists have been in the vanguard of the movement for political freedom and economic justice. In 1826, the first black newspaper in the United States, the Freedom Journal, *was founded by James Grossman and Christopher Reeds. David Walker's* Appeal *of 1829 urged slaves to fight for their freedom. As a consequence, the states within the Confederacy outlawed teaching slaves how to read. Frederick Douglass and his* North Star *newspaper played a leading role in the abolitionist movement and the Civil War. After the Civil War, black journalists continued to give voice and direction to the movement to end "Jim Crow" laws, fighting for economic freedom. During World War I, Robert Abbot and The* Chicago Defender *encouraged southern Blacks to migrate to the North. After Franklin Delano Roosevelt's election and throughout World War II, Robert Van and* The Pittsburgh Courier *largely changed the voting tradition of the Blacks from Republican to Democrat, because the paper endorsed Roosevelt.*

Today, at Berkeley's independent public radio station, KPFA, radio journalists have formed Blacks for Justice in Radio (BJR) to continue this tradition advocating for community control of the programming of the station. KPFA's parent company, Pacifica, is seeking greater company control and to silence the airing of minority demands for justice.

KPFA staff members Wendell Harper, a radio journalist, and Akilah Zainabu, reggae hostess, recently formed Blacks for Justice in Radio (BJR) and have hosted two town hall meetings on the struggle going on between KPFA (Berkeley, California's listener-supported radio station) and its parent company Pacifica. Harper and Zainabu are organizing the support of the larger Bay Area activist community to keep the station on the air.

Pressure at KPFA radio station has mounted for nearly a year. Last March, KPFA's general manager, Nicole Sawaya, was terminated, exposing KPFA's volatile relationship with Pacifica. Well-known and outspoken figures such as Alice Walker, Helen Caldicott, and Angela Davis endorsed a protest against Pacifica's tactics in an open letter in *The New York Times*. This particular "who's who" list called for the resignation of Pacifica's National Board Chairperson Mary Francis Berry (who is also a President Clinton appointee to the United States Civil Rights Commission) and Pacifica's Executive Director Lynn Chadwick.



Commemorator photo

Keith Carson, Alameda County supervisor, and a former KPFA volunteer, speaks in support of KPFA staff of workers and volunteers.

Commemorator photo

Akilah Zainabu, KPFA staff member, who also represents Blacks for Justice in Radio, co-hosts a September, 1999 town hall meeting about the fight against Pacifica, held in Berkeley, California.

Many KPFA listeners and supporters fear Pacifica will sell the station and their access to the air will be extinguished. In a July, 1999 e-mail message to Mary Francis Berry from Michael Palmer, Pacifica National Treasurer, Palmer wrote, "I was under the impression there was support in the proper quarters and a definite majority for shutting down (KPFA) and re-programming immediately."

Point #10 of the Ten–Point Program of the Black Panther Party reads, "We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and people's community control of modern technology." This call was echoed in October, 1999 by east Oakland residents who attended the second town hall meeting organized by Blacks for Justice in Radio in support of the continued independence of KPFA. The general consensus at the meeting of black KPFA staff and low-income residents of Oakland was that "KPFA needs to find a way to buy the station from parent company, Pacifica Foundation, and at the same time find a way to reflect the interests of the day-to-day struggle of low-income minority communities such as east Oakland."

Pacifica Attacks KPFA, Using Intimidation

Local protesters insist that Pacifica has used intimidation enforced with heavy-handed use of private security in its general operations, and that there have been instances in which security guards evicted KPFA employees and volunteers who have been the most vocal in their opposition to Pacifica's moves to control the station. Pacifica has also hired a public relations firm to promote its policy, alleging that KPFA only represents a small fraction of the population, or a fringe group, and must diversify.

Commemorator photo

Nancy Burroughs, KPFA supporter, speaks at the town-hall meeting sponsored by the Blacks for Justice in Radio in Berkeley in October, 1999.

Pacifica spent "$300 an hour for the principal of a public relations firm; $265 an hour for the vice president, mileage for security guards — $2280 for one week!" to support its program, according to Brand Dayton in the *Oakland Tribune*, September 14, 1999.

Continued on page 7

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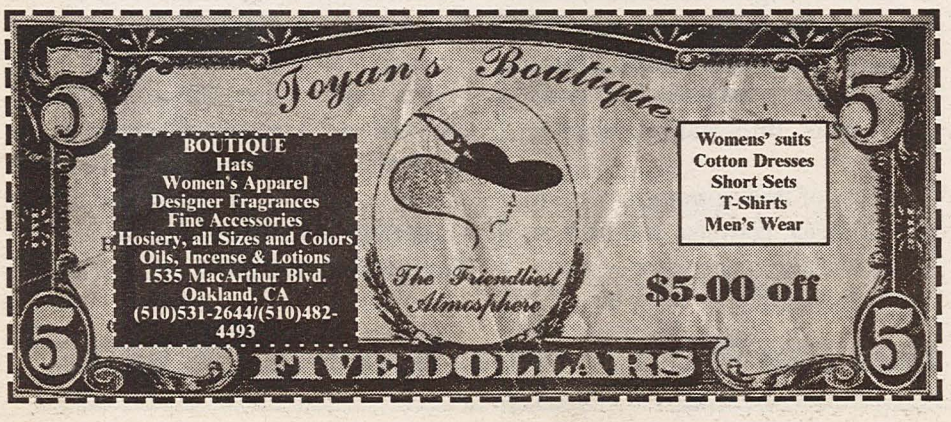

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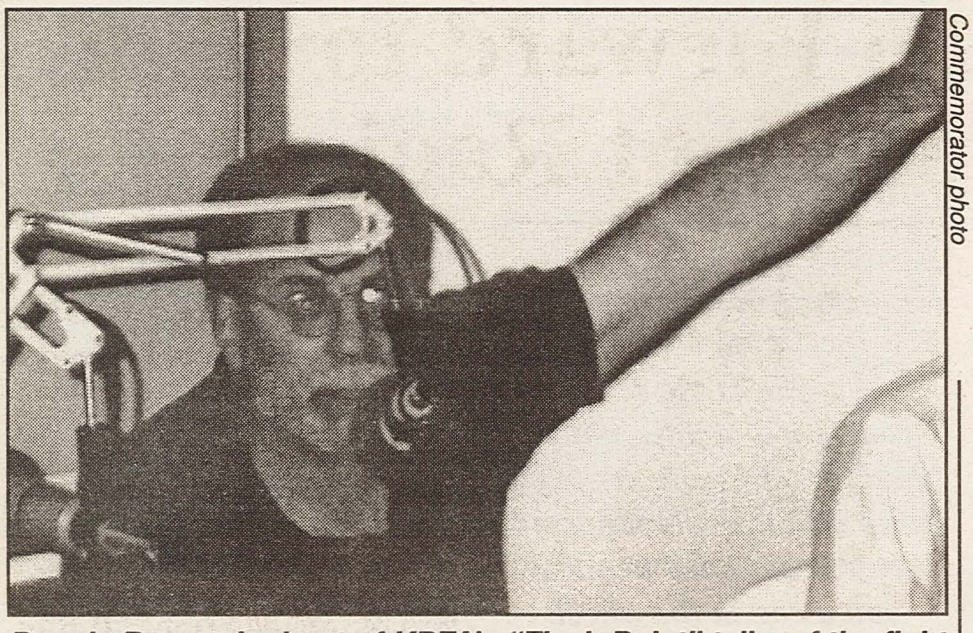
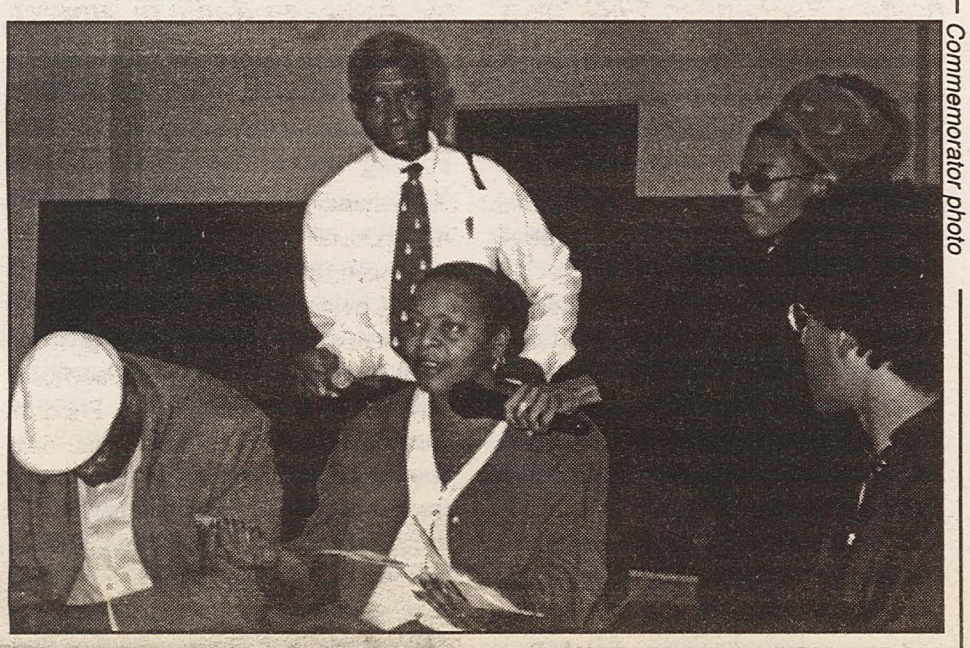


Commemorator photo

Dennis Bernstein, host of KPFA's "Flash Point" talks of the fight for KPFA against Pacifica at a September, 1999 town hall meeting sponsored by the Blacks for Justice in Radio (BJR).



Commemorator photo

Standing with mikes: Wendell Harper and Akilah Zainabu of KPFA host speakout meeting in east Oakland, California low-income community in November, 1999.

KPFA's supporters charge that Pacifica misinterpreted the local station's by-laws and overstepped its lawful boundaries as the policy conflict between Pacifica and KPFA continued to escalate. At the height of the conflict, Pacifica terminated staff members, including Sawaya, arrested several of KPFA's radio personalities, threatened physical violence against employees and shut down the station for 17 days. After Sawaya's dismissal, a subsequent Pacifica edict prohibited discussion of the issue on the air. These Pacifica policies and actions have angered many local listeners, as well as KPFA's staff, who say Pacifica is attempting to seize more control of the station in violation of the by-laws. At least 10,000 supporters marched through Berkeley, California to demonstrate against Pacifica's actions, which they see as being diametrically opposed to maintaining an independent radio station.

Community demands from town hall meetings include changing Pacifica's governance from a top-down to a bottom-up model, removing the gag rule against programmers at all five Pacifica stations and prohibiting Pacifica from accepting corporate money. Harper alleged that Pacifica's Board of Directors, in taking the radio station's public funds for the Board members, altered the station's by-laws illegally. "That money belongs to KPFA (for operating costs)," said Harper.

As far back as 1995 Kiilu Nyasha, a former Black Panther Party member and a current San Francisco Bay Area activist, was terminated, along with a number of other radio journalists and programmers. Nyasha hosted "Freedom is a Constant Struggle," a program which focused on United States politi-

Continued on page 14

Hauling in the Homeless

©MAJ 1999
by Mumia Abu-Jamal

The law in its majestic equality forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread.
— Anatole France *(1844 - 1924)*

If homelessness is a crime, it is one committed by a system that does not fairly distribute social wealth, does not educate poor youth, nor provide decent social services. In a nation where capital is the greatest possible attainment, poverty is the greatest possible offense.

As the Dow Jones Industrial Average and the NASDAQ (National Association of Securities Dealers Automated Quotations) reach daily record levels, and as every major media outlet boasts about the "booming economy," the problem of homelessness abounds.

A recent TV network report claimed that in New York City alone, over 400,000 people were millionaires, and that a bare handful of city residents have annual incomes that exceed that of several nations.

In the midst of this unprecedented wealth, in one of the wealthiest nations on earth, lies harrowing, soul-devouring poverty, and even homelessness.

In a response that gives a whole new meaning to the term "draconian," New York's mayor, Rudolph Giuliani, announced the city's plans to toss thousands of women, children and men out of city-run shelters, and into cold, wintry NYC streets. Those found to be homeless in the streets will find a new place to stay — Riker's Island prison!

And to those who dare seek refuge in the shelters, they are forced to work in what is essentially slave labor, or their children would be snatched away from them and placed in foster homes! Giuliani, in classic autocrat fashion, has criminalized homelessness! With the small-minded nastiness of more prison warden than political leader, Giuliani has chosen to banish or browbeat the homeless. Banish them from the streets, or browbeat them into accepting jobs no one else wants, under threat of prison, or under fear of the seizure of one's child.

For these homeless poor, this is not an "economic boom," but a time of gripping terror. If homelessness is a crime, it is one committed by a system that does not fairly distribute social wealth, does not educate poor youth, nor provide decent social services. In a nation where capital is the greatest possible attainment, poverty is the greatest possible offense. To the ruthless *Il Duce* Giuliani the homeless poor are to be put in prison, for daring to mar city streets, and better a jail cell than a homeless shelter, for there one feeds the prison industrial complex. This is Rudy's job application to the ruling class, as he gives rein to his unbridled ambition.

But, there is a malevolent method to Rudy's madness, for, as mayor of the capital of capital, the interests of big business are paramount. It was these interests that pushed for so-called "welfare reform" (meaning abolition of welfare), and are pushing the slave labor angle on the homeless. Why? Scholars Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward in *The New Class War* (Pantheon, 1982/1985) made the point that welfare strengthened labor's hand:

> If the desperation of the unemployed is moderated by the availability of various benefits, they will be less eager to take any job on any terms.... In short there is an emerging recognition among analysts of all political persuasions that the income-maintenance programs have weakened capital's ability to depress wages by means of economic insecurity, especially by means of manipulating the relative numbers of people searching for work. In effect, these programs have altered the terms of struggle between business and labor. As a result, unemployment has lost some of its terrors, both for the unemployed and for those currently working [pp. 26, 31].

With those programs gone (or going) the terrors represented by the homeless serves to discipline and curb the anxious working class, which is what Rudy means to do.

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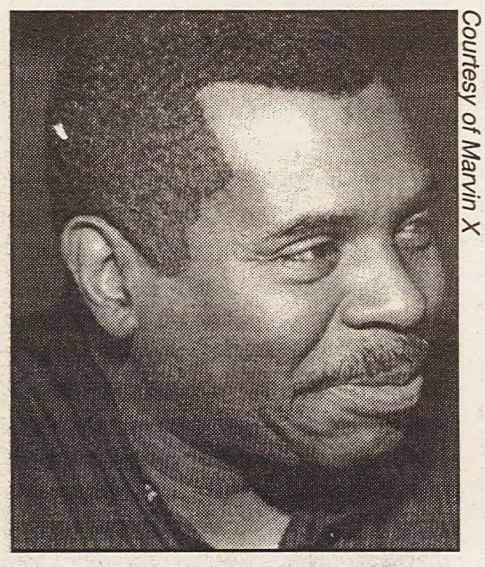
Artist Corner: Marvin X



Courtesy of Marvin X

Editor's Note: The following comments are from an interiew with ***Marvin X****, a prolific poet, writer and elder who came out of the political and cultural movement of the 1960's and was a contemporary of Dr. Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver.* **Marvin X** *has a current play called "One Day in the Life" which is based on* ***Marvin X's*** *autobiographical book,* "Somethin' Proper" *where he meets up with his "old" friend Dr. Huey P. Newton on the streets of West Oakland. Unlike the 1960s when they both were serious scholars and militant revolutionary activists, they both turned to drugs and alcohol. The following lines are taken from his book:*

Marvin X: "Well, it's a pretty bad situation: the black army's on crack — the generals are on crack — man, this shit is pitiful."

Huey: "We can come out of this, Man, we came out of slavery, see what'm sayin?"

(Excerpt from "Somethin' Proper")

****

Commemorator: Talk about your play "One Day in the Life."

Marvin X: Well it's basically a page from my autobiography, and it deals with my drug addiction and recovery. This is what the play is about — it also deals with related issues such as the black family, the father-son relationship, the male-female relationship, the father-daughter relations. Also there is a scene in the play depicting my last meeting with Huey Newton. We were both on drugs. I recreated that last meeting and tried to recall the things that he said in that conversation which were, I feel, revolutionary, in spite of the condition that both our minds were in — mind-altered somewhat at the time. I feel I'm fortunate that I had that conversation with him and being able to recreate it. I miss the brother, but I think, as I say in the monologue in the play — "How much do you expect one person to do?" — I think he did a helluva job as a black man who was initially illiterate [in his high school years]. He taught himself how to read and write basically, and went on to achieve a Ph.D. But much more than that [he] shook up the world and put the Black Man in a whole new light. If the younger generation would really read his story they would get some inspiration in spite of the tragic circumstances that he encountered along the way.

Commemorator: We all have tragedies we encounter but you have to maintain focus, and his [Huey's] ideas on organization are definitely timely today.

I would have to say that as far as the schools, colleges, and universities they are not really designed to make people think, they're designed to make you a cog in the wheel.

Marvin X: The minds [of many people are] not organized. The mind is in chaos; the mind is full of evil thoughts, wicked thoughts, wanting to destroy your brother and kill your brother — not only through violence, but through the sale of drugs. I remember there were brothers who knew me, knew I was a writer and would refuse to sell me drugs 'cause they didn't want to destroy me. Even though they couldn't stop me, though they tried, and this is the type of attitude and love we need to inspire our people with.

Commemorator: I would like to know for those who haven't read your book, *Somethin' Proper,* what made you decide you wanted to be a writer and a poet?

Marvin X: Well, my father had a black newspaper in Fresno. My earliest memories are sitting in his newspaper office and selling his newspaper — *The Fresno Voice*. I was around five or six years old at the time. That's probably the beginning. Then I moved to Oakland and attended Prescott Elementary School in West Oakland. At that time the *Oakland Tribune* had a children's section called *Aunt Elsie* which I wrote in. That was the beginning.

Commemorator: What were some of the challenges you had to face, being a young black writer, or an aspiring poet at that time as opposed to today?

Marvin X: Recently there was an event at Do For Self Bookstore [Oakland, CA] where some children at Prescott made a presentation. It was what I guess you would call an Afrocentric presentation of black poetry spoken word. I was just amazed that these children were from the same school that I attended. Their level of consciousness was far beyond anything that I had when I was in attendance at Prescott. They had the advantage of '60's cultural revolution, and the impact that it has had. Prescott today has Afro-American culture and literature that I didn't have. It's a little easier now, with all this information filtered down to even the little children. If you are a person becoming a writer, you should know traditions, *the literary traditions of your people.* For Afro-Americans, we're really talking about the beginning of writing, Egyptian literature, African literature. We can go all the way back to the first book, you know coming out of Egypt or the Nile Valley civilization. That is African tradition and this is what any writer needs to know. If you are a Chinese writer, you need to know the Chinese literary tradition. If you are an African writer, you need to know the African literary tradition. If you speak English then you should know something about the English literary tradition as well. That is what I think the African writer has to deal with to be effective and solid.

Commemorator: You've taught at different schools, universities as well as high schools, what do you think of creative writing in public schools or any school today?

Marvin X: When I got to Merritt College in 1962 which is where I met Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, we had classes together, but we studied independently outside of class. The class was almost irrelevant; it didn't really have any meaning, and there was no real substance there for us in terms of what we were seeking. Our whole focus was on little study groups outside of class not even related to the class, necessarily, but related to our desire to know our history and our culture. We can learn something from these creative writing classes, perhaps something about structure, although I don't know about content and I don't think they [teachers] necessarily want to hear about our content of our mind. It might be a little bit too strong....

Commemorator: They are afraid of it.

Marvin X: Yeah! — Well it's a dangerous mind. We have dangerous thoughts in terms of this society you

Continued on page 14

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— *Lee Williams*
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ARCHIVES

Huey's Corner

Revolutionary Suicide: The Way of Liberation

Walter Preston Stewart

Huey P. Newton's 1968 trial, where he was charged with the death of Oakland policeman John Frey, as illustrated by Walter Preston Stewart. Upper right: Charles Garry, defense attorney, presents evidence to court. Upper left: Garry (standing) with Huey seated behind him. Bottom left: Alameda County prosecutor, Lowell Jensen questions Huey on the witness stand. Bottom right: Alonzo Smith, who claimed that officer Frey harassed him.

Editor's Note: Dr. Huey P. Newton wrote the following selection, Revolutionary Suicide, in 1970 while he was serving three years in a California state prison on a second-degree manslaughter charge. It is the first chapter of the book by the same title, (published by Stronghold Consolidated Productions, Inc., 1973) which is available in your local bookstore.

"Revolutionary Suicide" is a hopeful, courageous wake up call for revolutionary life and liberation especially addressing, but not limited to, poor Black and minority Americans.

Although written 30 years ago, we find this piece equally poignant today, as the movement against the genocidal policies and programs of reaction continues to grow across the nation and the world. An increasing number of young Black and minority Americans are beginning to question the status quo, as they did in the 1960s, and they are doing so from both a national and international perspective. Their own daily experiences bring them face-to-face with police brutality, a burgeoning prison slave labor system, lack of living wage jobs, homelessness, little or no health care and reduced education funding. At the same time, they are becoming more aware of similar realities faced by hundreds of millions of people across the globe at the hands of United States-led international imperialist policy.

In 1966, in Oakland, California, Huey co-founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense with Bobby Seale. The BPP initially grew in urban ghettos where poor Black youth and their families joined together to fight economic exploitation and racial oppression and it rapidly gained support from both Blacks and Whites, particularly those already involved in the civil rights, anti-war and counter-cultural movements in surrounding communities across the nation.

Huey was arrested in 1967, accused of killing a policeman in Oakland, California, and charged with voluntary manslaughter. Like the "Free Mumia" call heard throughout the world today on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal's struggle for his life and for justice for all political prisoners, "Free Huey" was a four-year international rallying cry that became synonymous with Black liberation and revolution, as Huey struggled (from prison) through three trials and one appeal, to gain his freedom.

Like Huey, Mumia Abu-Jamal has not succumbed to the government's efforts to silence him; he has remained steadfast in his political position, refusing to commit reactionary suicide. Mumia has shown that he understands, as Huey explains below, that his situation can and must be used to raise the consciousness, reality and understanding of revolutionary suicide on the part of those inside and outside prison walls as a contribution to revolution.

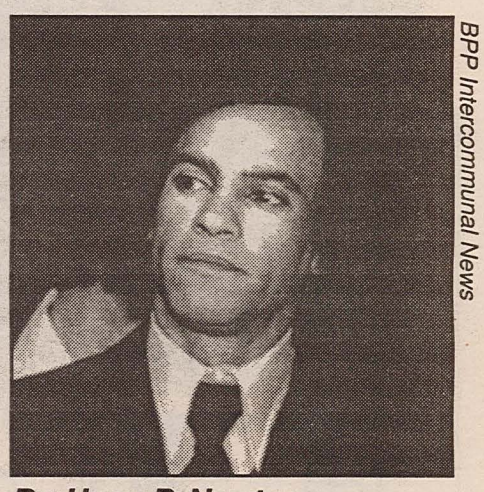
Young, poor Black and minority Americans were challenged by the BPP and the "Free Huey" campaign to change social and political conditions reflecting 400 years of oppression and to choose between revolutionary and reactionary suicide.

In the United States today, where the suicide rate for children ages ten to 14 has doubled over the past ten years, and the third leading cause of death among people age15 to 24 is suicide, this is still a critical choice.

In his article, Huey Newton speaks of spiritual death. But the future of our people holds a more material threat. In the last year, CCBPP has helped head off – for now – efforts to legalize physician-assisted suicide in California, which finds support amongst those who become convinced that suicide is a product of choice rather than social coercion and hopelessness born of a lack of money and supportive. We at The Commemorator choose revolutionary suicide, and we hope for the best as we plan for the worst.

With racial oppression and economic hardship all around, one either chooses to become part of the solution or one remains part of the problem.

Join us! CCBPP's editorial staff encourages our readers to consult the writings of Dr. Huey P. Newton, including the entirety of Revolutionary Suicide, his autobiography, and put his ideas into practice. Become a full-time volunteer organizer with CCBPP, and learn how we can build organization that cannot be deterred or defeated. Don't waste your life wallowing in demoralization. Seize the time!



BPP Intercommunal News

Dr. Huey P. Newton

"Let a new earth rise. Let another world be born. Let a bloody peace be written in the sky. Let a second generation full of courage issue forth, let a people loving freedom come to growth, let a beauty full of healing and a strength of final clenching be the pulsing in our spirits and our blood. Let the martial songs be written, let the dirges disappear. Let a race of men now rise and take control."

(Margaret Walker, *"For My People"*)

For twenty-two months in the California Men's Colony at San Luis Obispo, after my first trial for the death of Patrolman John Frey, I was almost continually in solitary confinement. There, in a four-by-six cell, except for books and papers relating to my case, I was allowed no reading material. Despite the rigid enforcement of this rule, inmates sometimes slipped magazines under my door when the guards were not looking. One that reached me was the May, 1970, issue of *Ebony* magazine. It contained an article written by Lacy Banko summarizing the work of Dr. Herbert Hendin, who had done a comparative study on suicide among black people in the major American cities. Dr. Hendin found that the suicide rate among black men between the ages of nineteen and thirty-five had doubled in the past ten to fifteen years, surpassing the rate for whites in the same age range. The article had — and still has — a profound effect on me. I have thought long and hard about its implications.

The *Ebony* article brought to mind Durkheim's classic study *Suicide*, a book I had read earlier while studying sociology at Oakland City College. To Durkheim all types of suicide are related to social conditions. He maintains that the primary cause of suicide is not individual temperament but forces in the social environment. In other words, suicide is caused primarily by external factors, not internal ones. As I thought about the conditions of black people and about Dr. Hendin's study, I began to develop Durkheim's analysis and apply it to the black experience in the United States. This eventually led to the concept of "revolutionary suicide."

Continued on page 22

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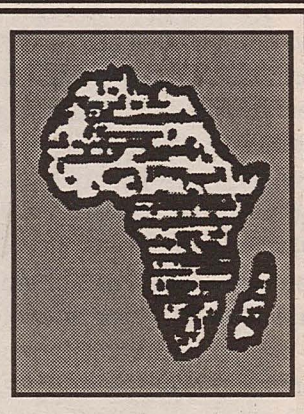

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Capitalism and Genocide

by John Donner

Editor's Note: This is part II of an article started in The Commemorator *August, 1999 issue.*

The American racial state (including the writings of Thomas Jefferson, considered a founder of so-called scientific racism) served as a model for both the genocidal South African apartheid and German Nazi states. Adolf Hitler was particularly fond of "Gone With The Wind," the movie classic starring Clark Gable, about the South's slave-holding system. Hitler often used American racial segregation to justify segregation of Jews under the German Reich, when pressed by President Roosevelt on the Jewish question.

John Adams opposed abolition of slavery before the Massachusetts House of Representatives and corresponded with Thomas Jefferson forecasting genocide as the final solution to the Indian problem stating that he believed that another conquest of Canada would forever quiet the Indians. Benjamin Franklin was a slave trader who only used white indentured servants in his house because he didn't like Blacks, and held Hitlerian population-control views and posed the question "why increase the sons of Africa by planting them in America, where we have so fair an opportunity by excluding Blacks and tawneys of increasing the lively Whites."

Ulysses S. Grant authored infamous Civil War Order No. 11 calling for the expulsion of Jews from the South (considered to be one of the most overtly anti-Semitic documents in American history). Andrew Jackson, one of the architects of Indian genocide, owned at least 100 black African slaves.

Thomas Jefferson, a founder of proto-scientific racialism, held that Blacks were inferior, created to be the bearers of burdens and supported en-masse deportation of Blacks because according to Jefferson their" ... rapid multiplication will ... cover the whole northern, if not southern continent, nor can we contemplate with satisfaction either blot or mixture on the surface."

Abraham Lincoln believed Blacks unequal to Whites in moral and intellectual endowment and that they could not live in harmony with Whites. He sent 450 blacks to colonize an Island off the Haitian coast, who had to be retrieved by the navy and settled in Arlington, Virginia. He did not issue the Emancipation Proclamation because he wanted to free slaves (only in Confederate states) on moral grounds. He knew the South was using slaves, as property valued at about $2 billion (at the time of the Civil War) as collateral (a then common practice) to secure loans needed by the slave-holding Confederacy to finance its Civil War efforts. Lincoln knew that European bankers would withdraw or greatly limit loans secured by the South putting up slaves as collateral. The Emancipation Proclamation meant that European bankers would not be paid off if the North won the war because the slaves would no longer be the property of the Confederacy.

Including divide and conquer, economic profit is the ultimate ruling-class incentive behind the American capitalist racial state. Victor Perlo makes this clear in his book *American Imperialism.*

As late as 1947, the median wage of white workers was $1,980; of non-white chiefly Negro, $863, a difference of $1,117. Multiplying this difference by the number of Negro workers gainfully employed in 1947 (about 3,500,000), Victor Perlo in his book, *American Imperialism* found that monopoly extorts annually almost four billions of dollars from the Jim-Crow system (pp. 88-89).

This system does not necessarily require racial distinctions to work. Any means of divisive classification will work just as well. In the words of William H. Sylvis, founder of one of the first national unions, the iron molders, and of the first national labor federation: Capital knows no difference between white and black laborers; and labor cannot make any, without undermining its own platform and tearing down the walls of its defense. The whole united power of labor is necessary to the successful resistance of the united power of capital.

International Law offers No Real Protection from Modern Genocide

The first thing we must know about genocide, from the standpoint of an exploited-oppressed class and its vanguard, is that we have at once a duty and right to define what genocide means, for ourselves, in our best historic self-interests, based on our material experience, and not accept flawed legal definitions, serving the class interests, of those who, historically have committed genocide against us.

The United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted on December 9, 1948, defines genocide as follows:

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial and religious group, as such:

(a) Killing members of the group;
(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The following acts shall be punishable:

(a) Genocide;
(b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
(c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
(d) Attempt to commit genocide;
(e) Complicity in genocide.

Genocide as defined by the United Nation Convention conspicuously excludes economic groups based on income or poverty and political groups from its dubious protection, hence leaving such groups open to attack by global capitalism's ruling class through the state as its instrument of class repression. The requirement that specific intent to destroy be proven erects an arduous almost insurmountable barrier, especially when the state is the perpetrator, as is almost always the case historically.

The U.S. initialed the genocide convention December 11, 1948. The convention however is a not a self-executing document and requires each party nation to pass its own laws to give it legally binding effect. The U.S. senate refused to ratify the genocide convention for 38 years (until February 19, 1986). It imposed reservations and understandings on its ratification, which rendered the convention virtually impotent for purposes of preventing and punishing economically and politically driven genocide by American led, global, monopoly capitalist forces, against the working class worldwide.

As a result the U.S. cannot be charged before the World Court with genocide unless it gives its permission. The U.S. further defined intent to destroy as specific intent (making it that much more difficult to prove) and defined "to destroy in substantial part" in such a way that such destruction is not available as a ground to charge genocide until the group has been virtually destroyed as a viable entity. It was not until November 4, 1988 (40 years later) that the U.S. Congress passed the Proxmire Act as implementing legislation, necessary to make the United Nation genocide convention legally binding on the U.S. under international and U.S. law.

But as of 1988, the American capitalist ruling clique had already engaged in decades of economically and politically driven state enforced genocide, vis-a-vis its counter-intelligent program (COINTELPRO), against the Black Panther Party and numerous progressive movement forces. During the 40 years between initialing the United Nation genocide convention and passing implementing legislation, the real basis in international and U.S. law was removed whereby acts such as the FBI and Chicago police murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, or FBI provision of intelligence to local law enforement and Ku Klux Klan figures, that was used to murder civil rights activists — could sustain a charge of genocide.

FBI informants comprised 20% of southern Klan membership (2,000) during the period in which SNCC, for example, had 35 of its people murdered who were involved with Freedom Summer. An FBI infiltrator was revealed as the prime suspect in the murder of white northern civil rights activist Viola Luizzo and in the bombing of the Sixteenth Avenue Baptist Church in Birmingham Alabama, killing four little African American girls in Sunday School. He was rewarded by being put in the federal witness protection program.

Sam Bower (1963 Mississippi state Klan leader) and Neshoba County Sheriff's Deputy Price were among those who received a mere three to ten year sentence for the murder of three civil rights workers: James Chaney, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, who disappeared in Neshoba County Mississippi, on or about June 21, 1963. The sentencing judge, Harold Cox, justified his light sentences by saying "[t]hey killed one nigger, one jew, and a white man. I gave them what I thought they deserved."

The state-enforced policies of American-led, global monopoly capitalism which predictably, therefore intentionally, results in billions of easily-preventable deaths annually, worldwide, are not recognized as acts of genocide under international or U.S. law. The billions who die and suffer untold torment annually around the world as a result of these policies, simply because of their inadequate income or economic condition of poverty are not recognized as a group protected from genocide under international or U.S. law.

As President of the Children's Defense Fund, Marian Wright Edelman presided over a study which

Continued on page 20

BEST WISHES

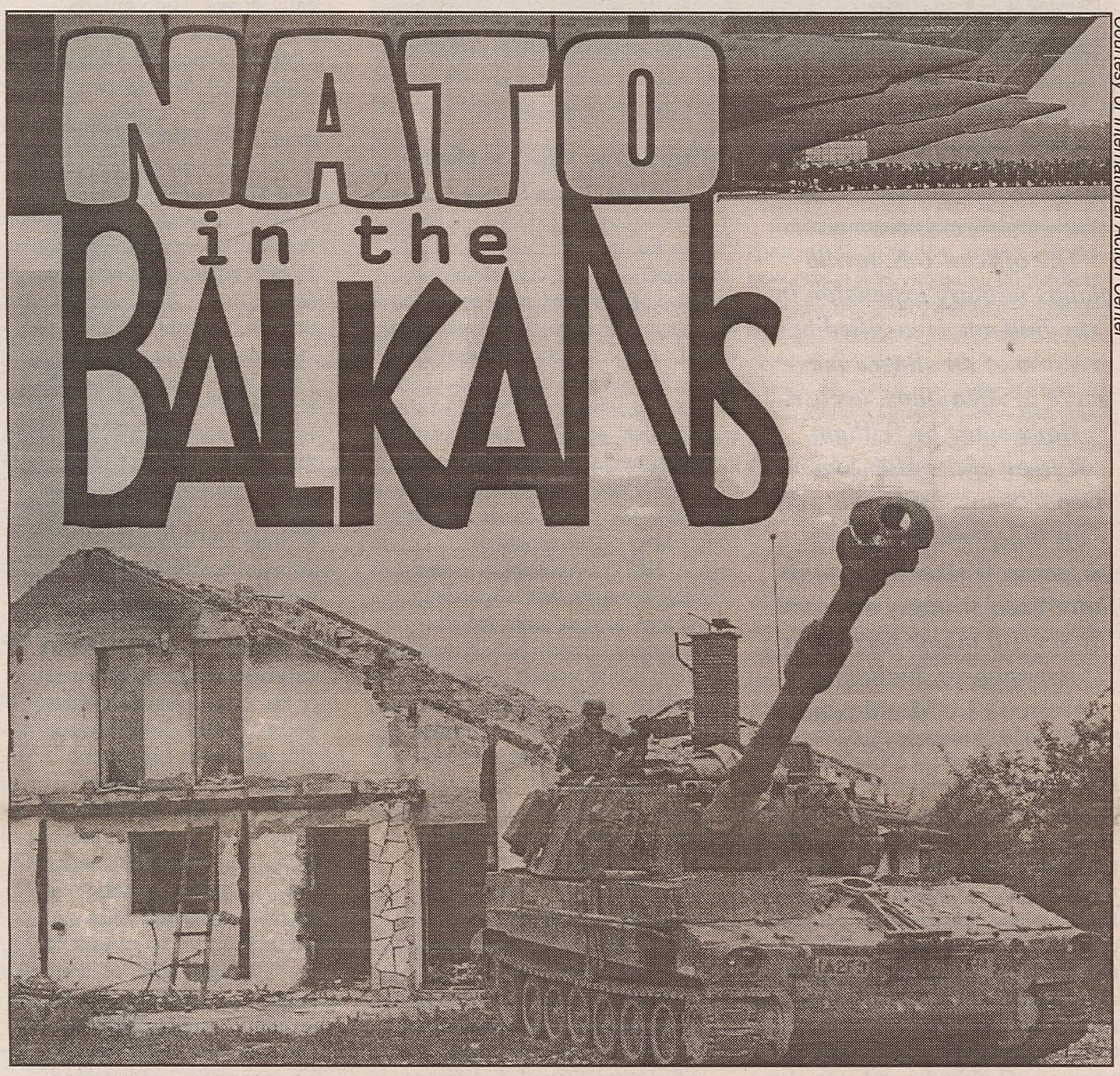
— John Thielking

2nd Annual Black History Month Celebration

International Update

U.S./NATO Aggression in Kosovo

Why Our Tax Dollars Fund Bombs in the Balkans



Courtesy of International Action Center

Military intervention began in 1992 in Yugoslavia as part of a geopolitical imperialist strategy, sponsored by monopoly capitalism headed by the United States of America's ruling circle and its lackeys.

By Melvin Dickson

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

Black Panther Party's Ten-Point Platform and Program: "What We Want, What We Believe"

Point Number Eight: WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

Why did the U.S. and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervene in Kosovo on humanitarian grounds and not in Rwanda (500,000 dead), Chechnya (80,000 dead), Algeria (60,000 dead), Turkey (30,000 Kurds killed by a NATO member nation)? Recent dealings with the forces unleashed by the disintegration of former Yugoslavia exposes the hypocrisy of the humanitarian reasons advanced by the U.S., the U.N. and NATO.

In 1999, the U.S.-led NATO bombing of Serbia killed more than two thousand civilians, and injured another seven thousand, according to Sladjana R. Dankovic, a Yugoslavian delegate to the International Symposium on NATO's Aggression in Novisad, Yugoslavia on October 15, 1999. According to Dankovic, beneath the often-stated objective of "halting ethnic cleansing of Kosovar Albanians by the Serbian government," lies a less humanitarian motive for the West's 78-day bombing campaign. Along with an influx of billions of taxpayer dollars into U.S. military supply industries, the western coalition protected its economic interests in the "New Silk Road," which runs directly through the former Yugoslavia.

NATO — an alliance of 19 countries including the U.S., Canada, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Portugal and the Netherlands — attacked the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on March 24, 1999. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a federation of two republics — Serbia and Montenegro — and is a legal successor of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (known as the "former Yugoslavia").

Milos Petrovic of the International Action Center (IAC) — a volunteer activist organization based out of New York and founded in 1991 by former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark — asserts that NATO's aggression is a violation of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter, which prohibits the interference in the domestic jurisdiction of any state and the use of force against a sovereign state where it has not committed aggression on other states. Yugoslavia did not attack any state outside its sovereign borders. An attack on a sovereign state can occur only under the sanction of the U.N. Security Council. The Security Council never sanctioned NATO's use of force.

Yet, 78 days of air strikes against Yugoslavia cost U.S. taxpayers $2.3 to $4 billion, according to the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. To cover costs of cleaning up the damage, the Clinton administration pushed through a proposal for a ten-year, $62 billion military spending package, in addition to the annual $270 billion Defense Department budget, according to journalist Tom Raum in his article "War Against Yugoslavia, Cleanup Will Cost Billions," *San Francisco Examiner*, 6/28/99.

Both houses of Congress passed an emergency bill to fund $13 billion of this cleanup from Social Security funds, despite two months prior having passed a budget resolution not to touch Social Security funds. The decision was approved with bipartisan support. Funds for the operations also came from food stamp and low-income housing funds. To help convince legislators to pass the $13 billion emergency funding bill, House Majority Whip Tom Delay, R-Texas, mobilized defense contractors and lobbyists to coax legislators with promises that the spending would benefit their districts.

Tomahawks Boost Stocks

The projected U.S. taxpayers' cost for follow-up peacekeeping operation is $1.5 to $2 billion a year. 7,000 troops will patrol a sector of Kosovo and 7,700 U.S. troops will remain in Albania and Macedonia. By the summer of 1999, there were also 5,916 U.S. troops included in the NATO occupation of Bosnia, an operation which has cost the U.S. $9.43 billion since 1991. (Steven Lee Myers, "Peace Strains the Army," *New York Times,* 7/11/99).

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, the rate of interventions by the U.S. military, with the collaboration of the U.S.-dominated United Nations and NATO, has reached unprecedented levels. Several U.S. military contractors have earned huge profits from the increase in activity this decade. Raytheon, which makes the Tomahawk cruise missile (costing taxpayers $1 million each), has been the industry's greatest success story in the war against Yugoslavia. Approximately 450 Tomahawk missiles were fired on targets inside Yugoslavia. Raytheon's stock went up 17% in the first two weeks of air strikes.

Continued on next page

2nd Annual Black History Celebration

"It's not about awareness for the sake of awareness but awareness for the sake of changing the conditions in our communities,"

— Doug Corbin, *President*
Black Student Union,
Merritt College,
Oakland CA

NATO Bombing

Continued from previous page

In their aftermath, Raytheon opened operations in nearby Rumania, where engineers educated under socialism work for low wages. In addition, the stocks of military equipment manufactured by Lockheed/Martin and Boeing rose 8 and 12 percent respectively, as reported by Salina Khan in "Kosovo Crisis Boosts Stocks of U.S. Defense Contractors," *USA Today*, 4/15/99.

Regarding stock prices, defense industry analyst Shawn Naracich of D.A. Davidson & Co. said, "This is not just a flash in the pan. Kosovo is just the catalyst. We're going to keep seeing money flowing into defense stocks." Raytheon, for example, may receive as much as $420 million to upgrade the 626 cruise missiles in government inventory. The top 5 Pentagon contractors for fiscal year 1998 were Lockheed/Martin ($12.3 billion), Boeing ($10.9 billion), Raytheon/Hughes ($5.7 billion), General Dynamics ($3.7 billion) and Northrop/Grumman ($2.7 billion).

Why Kosovo??

In 1991 and 1992 when Croatia and Bosnia declared independence from the former Yugoslavia, Serbs, who made up 75% of Croatia's Krajina region, called for autonomy, compared with the more radical call from Albanians in Kosovo for complete independence. The U.S., U.N. and NATO rejected Serbian autonomy and 30,000 NATO peacekeepers looked on as 1.2 million Serbs were forced from their homes during the Bosnian war. There was no international intervention, nor repatriation of Serbian refugees. The U.N. Commission on Refugees found the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) responsible for mass graves of Serbs, but still there has been no outcry on behalf of the Serbs, who lost 1.7 million fighting Hitler while trying to down 37 Nazi divisions and inflicting 700,000 casualties on Hitler's troops during World War II.

The answer to "Why Kosovo?" lies not in humanitarian concerns, but U.S. economic and political interests. The effect of U.S. cruise missile strikes against the Afghan-based Taliban militia in August, 1998 — based on their alleged ties to Osama bin Laden, whom the United States accuses of masterminding the bombing of U.S. embassies in East Africa — was to firmly establish the United States as a dominant economic and political policy-making force in Central Eurasia's oil, gas and mineral rich Caspian Sea region.

Seizing control of the Balkans, a major existing and proposed location for supply lines linking Western Europe to Central Eurasia's Caspian region, gave the U.S. (the head of NATO) a major share of control over the production and distribution apparatus for a major source of the world's oil, gas, minerals and other strategic materials. Kosovo is merely a flash point that provides the opportunity to seize control of the Balkans by force of arms. Collateral damage in human death, pain, want and suffering is merely a part of the cost of acquisition, while economic devastation is the means through which subjugation will be executed and profit exploited as a matter of policy.

Corporate Media and William Walker

The official U.S. media claims military expansion in the Balkans is justified by reports of an alleged massacre of Albanians in Kosovo. The reports are in large part based on accusations made by William Walker of the U.S. State Department, who heads the Kosovo Verification Mission. But what we are not hearing in the U.S. media is that Walker's accounts have been strongly disputed by several major European newspapers, including France's *Le Monde* and Italy's *Le Figaro*. These papers assert that the allegations of a massacre are a fabrication. Add to that IAC's observation that as a representative of the U.S. State Department, Walker is not an independent, neutral observer. According to IAC he has accumulated a sordid history from his years of work in Central America with U.S-trained death squads in El Salvador and was also responsible for setting up a so-called "humanitarian" operation that was used as a cover for the Contra war to overthrow the government of Nicaragua.

***The official U.S. media claims military expansion in the Balkans is justified by reports of an alleged massacre of Albanians, accusations made by William Walker of the U.S. State Department...Walker is not an independent, neutral observer. Walker's accounts have been strongly disputed by several major European newspapers, including France's* Le Monde *and Italy's* Le Figaro**

Humanitarian Bombing

Robert Fish in "Collateral Damage: The Victims You Don't See on CNN," *The Independent,* April 2, 1999 writes of NATO bombing victims never mentioned in any NATO briefing: "There's a 14-year-old boy with his head crushed, lying in a coma, eyes half-closed, a fat oxygen tube down his throat. There's a middle-aged farmer hit in the head by shrapnel and expected to die within a few hours. A little further down the emergency ward is another boy — 13 this time — with his head swathed in bandages, moving in agony, his brain damaged and his right leg fractured by a falling building."

Orthopedist Paul Watson writes of "horrific wounds" he had never seen in 15 years of practice: "They are wounds (caused by cluster bombs) that lead to disabilities to a great extent. The limbs are so crushed that the only remaining option is amputation. It's awful, awful, Watson reported in the *Los Angeles Times,* April 28, 1999, article "Unexploded Weapons Pose Deadly Threat on the Ground."

High Stakes: What's at Play?

Controlling Balkan Strategic Lines of Communication (SLOC) — hence Eastern Europe and Central Eurasia's "heartland" — is the central unspoken objective of NATO's United States-led war against Serbia. "This war was waged for the benefit of those comprising less than 1% of the global population, but whose combined wealth exceeds that of 47% of the earth's poorest people," writes John Donner, *Commemorator's* columnist/correspondent. The following is Donner's commentary on the situation:

> NATO's unspoken war objectives include expanding special interests' share and profit in arms, oil and relief-aid markets, while escalating global military spending and so-called Western Alliance military deployment. Additional unspoken objectives of "Operation Allied Force" are to destabilize challengers to U.S. and Western European total world domination, extort concessions attached to profitably rebuilding Balkan infrastructure, install systems and regimes consistent with maximum multi-national exploitation and to set legal precedents that justify United States-led military aggression without prior U.N. authorization (thereby effectively neutralizing Russia and China's Security Council veto.)
>
> The strategic fuels, minerals, commercial shipping, military weapons, equipment and forces (material and personnel) that the United States, Western European and Western Alliance global financial and military strategy depend on, must travel through key sea, land and air routes, designated as a SLOC. Oil and gas pipelines, air and ports, rail and roadways, canals, tunnels, bridges, fuel depots, refineries and similar infrastructure (such as that destroyed in and around Yugoslavia and Serbia) are included within the definition of a SLOC.
>
> These factors have historically driven world powers — from ancient Athens to the United States-led Western Alliance — to wage war for control of the Balkans. This project has been dubbed the "New Silk Road," after the "old Silk Road," which linked Asia to Europe and led Marco Polo to the court of Emperor Kublai Khan, "Reviving the Silk Road," The Christian Science Monitor 9/14/98, p. 20). Marco Polo specifically wrote in his diaries about the abundance of oil in Central Eurasia's Caspian Sea region over 700 years ago.
>
> The Balkan peninsula cuts across the very heart of an existing and key SLOC, and through the "New Silk Road" already under construction. The New Silk Road is aimed at linking Central Eurasia's super-rich oil, gas and mineral fields to (oil, gas and mineral poor) Western Europe in specific and Europe in general.
>
> The "New Silk Road" is part of a plan to link 12 nations of Central Eurasia (including oil, gas and mineral rich nations such as Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan) via a network of new "strategic lines of communication" including land, sea and air routes. Oil and gas pipelines area major part of this enormous undertaking, sponsored and backed by the European Union (EU) with $200 million already invested.
>
> Geography is key to the Balkan peninsula's strategic importance. The New Silk Road is to run, in substantial

Continued on next page

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Mumia and the Prison Industry

Continued from page 2

Americans charged under the "three-strikes" law is 17 times the number of whites. La Course claims that California's broad approach has hurt the movement to get tough on violent criminals while putting more poor and minority workers in prison or under the jurisdiction of the corrections system.

Proposition 21

Increasingly, children as young as 14 are being designated as adults in order to stand trial for criminal activity. That situation should be seen as an indictment of a society that consigns its children to the lack of oversight and opportunity underlying these tragedies. In Detroit,

Mumia made the sacrifice to fight for the poor and people of color. He did not back down in the face of adversity. He continues to fight for justice despite being behind bars and on death row.

11 year-old Nathaniel Abraham was charged and tried as an adult for accidentally shooting a neighbor.

If California's Proposition 21 is passed in the March, 2000 election, this heinous concept of children charged and imprisoned as adults will become law. According to Families to Amend California's Three-Strikes (FACTS), under the guise of fighting "gangs" and "gang violence," the Proposition 21 bill proposes to arrest, try and imprison children as young as 14 as adults "ignoring juvenile prevention programs which have proven to be much more successful at stopping crime." Proposition 21 would expand the list of "three strike" offenses for both juveniles and adults, lower the standard of legal proof for establishing a gang connection, expand the death penalty to any gang-related murder, and allow a suspected gang member to be charged with gang activity without proof of gang membership.

Commemorator photo

San Francisco county jail has joined in with the U.S. prison industry thrust. Inmates above tilling soil for agriculture production.

Sponsored by former Governor Pete Wilson, it is, according to FACTS, "purely politically motivated by a former Governor who sees an increase in 'punishment' as the only solution — a solution that builds our prison industrial complex, which then has historically been shown to give contributions back to politicians that pushed such laws." FACTS also emphasizes that Prop 21 "appears to be class-based and racially biased as it focuses on 'street crime' and once again ignores 'white-collar criminals' who, as criminologists can tell you, are causing more economic, physical and violent damage to society." If passed, California's Prop 21 will undoubtedly help fill even more of those prison beds and inflate stock prices for those investors who wish to profit from crime.

The Economic Impact in the Wider Community

Across the country, economically strapped towns and cities from Washington to Florida and New York to California compete to offer incentives for building prisons, thinking that a prison will bring economic revitalization. Simultaneously, school buildings deteriorate, money for supplies and teacher salaries has steadily decreased far below other comparable industrial countries, while classroom sizes have increased due to shortages of qualified teachers. Meanwhile, prison guard salaries outstrip those of teachers despite far lower education and training requirements.

Few people in the towns benefit from a prison. Sixty percent of the new prison jobs, including all the best paying jobs, go to outsiders, most of whom end up living outside the town in which the prison is located, says the California Prison Moratorium Project. Real estate values initially rise, but only until the prison is built. In Corcoran, California, the number of people with incomes below the poverty line has doubled since the prison was built.

An ironic economic consequence of this competition by local communities to win prisons is that prisoners who are paid less than minimum wage and no benefits displace workers in the general population. In Austin, Texas, 150 workers were laid off when their jobs were transferred to inmates at the Lockhart prison. Oregon Prison Industries markets a line of convict-made blue jeans called "Prison Blues," selling back to the public the "gangster" culture it claims to crack down on through the criminal-justice system. TWA has used inmate labor to break strikes, and pays $5 an hour to inmate reservations clerks at a juvenile facility in Ventura, California for the same work that pays $18 an hour to union members. Rick Levy, legal director for the Texas AFL-CIO, says, "When you have the social cost of maintaining such a massive criminal-justice system and you pay for that through super-exploitation of workers, that's a bad situation for the rest of society."

Part of the local, national and international fight to save Mumia must be to educate people that the impending execution of Mumia has significant repercussions, because it is not just one man's life that is on the line. It is the threat of the growing prison industrial complex to warehouse masses of citizens for simply being poor. This upcoming decision has a huge impact on all working class people. His fight represents the larger struggle, the class struggle, the struggle for the Ten-Point Program, and the need to build grass-roots organizations to address the systemic nature of the problem.

If Mumia is murdered at the hands of the so-called justice system, it will be a major victory for the ruling class. It will pave the way for other injustices to be carried out. It will provide the opportunity for the government to step up the oppression. Both at the state and federal level, the government is preparing to lock up more and more people for longer periods of time. They are looking to fill all of these prisons that are being built. They are now even targeting youth for life imprisonment. The prison system is designed for the manipulation and control of poor people for the benefit of corporations. Mumia made the sacrifice to fight for the poor and people of color. He did not back down in the face of adversity. He continues to fight for justice despite being behind bars and on death row.

We need to put his message of resilience into action and continue to not only fight for him, but for generations to come. Mumia's execution is a matter of profit for the few and the exploitation of the many.

We need to join together to build fighting organizations, using proven methods, to meet basic material needs of the low-income and oppressed communities, while demanding fundamental change in the economic policies that threaten genocide.

All Power To The People!

NATO Bombing

Continued from previous page

part, through the Balkans, including Serbia. Bulgaria, for example, with its strategic seaport at Varna on the Black Sea, is one of the signers of the New Silk Road agreement. The lower and middle sections of the decisively important Danube River run through the Balkans. The Danube also runs through Belgrade, Serbia.

Geography is key to Balkan peninsula's strategic importance

Strategic material, such as oil and gas, from Central Eurasia, destined for Western Europe, must travel across Black Sea shipping lines and through the Balkans, by rail and river transport. The Danube forms a major part of the SLOC for river transportation. It is linked to the Black Sea in the east by the Danube Black Sea Canal, between Constant and Cernovada in the oil producing Balkan state of Romania.

The Danube provides access to principal seaports and European great winter harbors such as Izmail, Ukraine; Ruse, Bulgaria; Galati and Braila, Romania; Belgrade, Serbia; Budapest, Hungary; Bratislavia, Czech Republic; Vienna, Linz and Konenburg, Austria; and Passau, Regengsburg and Deggendorf, Germany.

The Balkan peninsula's shorelines provide access to such key sea SLOCs as the Adriatic Sea (in the west), the Ionian Sea (in the southwest), the Sea of Crete (in the south), the Aegean Sea (in the southeast), and the Black Sea (in the east).

The Balkan peninsula encompasses, within its sphere, the strategically important straits of Dardanelles and Bosporus in northwest Turkey (a NATO member) and Albania (targeted for NATO membership). The strategically decisive straits of Dardanelles and Bosporus, connected by the Sea of Marmara, provide the only direct sea way between the Black and Mediterranean seas. The Strait of Otranto connects the Adriatic and Ionian seas, the latter of which provides the only direct sea way between the Adriatic and Mediterranean seas.

Serbia's Adriatic supply line must pass through the Strait of Otranto, which is a NATO naval blockade focal point. The geopolitical truth, that 'whoever holds the Balkans holds Europe by the throat,' is a consequence of that fact.

In conclusion, Donner states, "Only by organized change in America, as the seat of world power, will United States-led global policy cease to be predicated on death, destruction, and destabilization at home and abroad for the profit of the few and the subjugation of the many.

DON'T MOURN, ORGANIZE!"

2nd Annual Black History Month Celebration

I wish the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party success

— Billy Burnly

Artist Corner: Marvin X

Continued from page 5

know. If you can think, write and talk what you understand you're very dangerous, because you infect people's minds when you can make people think. As far as the schools, colleges, and universities they are not really designed to make people think, they're designed to make you a cog in the wheel, and to come out and get a job for life, and shut your mouth and get to work on time and don't rock the boat, don't go postal — and die broke!

Commemorator: They don't even keep us thirty years no more. I am currently working for a temporary employment agency.

Marvin X: [laughter] You're right, there are no more thirty year jobs. That's new slavery. That way they don't have to pay your medical cost and other benefits, and you have no status. You get kicked out when they're tired of looking at you, and they can bring in somebody else without paying higher wages. So you know it's slavery. I don't know how we can break out of that mode. I've been to the South, I've seen the Southern Colleges, so-called Negro Colleges, they have the proper name "Negro Colleges," because as far as I'm concerned it's not much different from the white Colleges. There is suppression of creativity and thoughts, thinking, and controlled behavior, all of that is the same. We need to be careful about saying it's a black school or white school, because most of these schools are designed to make you an "American." You know, in the truest since of the word, which would make you a 'what?' … a robber, rapist, murderer known throughout the world as such.

There is suppression of creativity and thoughts, thinking, and controlled behavior, all of that is the same.

And we can see from the behavior of Colin Powell, that's a real "American" and what can an "American" like Colin Powell do?

Help in the destruction of a people such as the Iraqis that he helped murder, bomb, and destroy. And people want us to be proud that Colin Powell is a great "American" and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

All Power to the People

"Best Wishes"
— David Mahoney

2nd Black History Month Celebration

Fight for Independent Media

Continued from page 7

cal prisoners and developing world and working class issues.

Nyasha described to *The Commemorator* how members from the Pacifica administration had deceived her. Shortly before "Freedom is a Constant Struggle" was taken off the air, Nyasha met with Ginny Berson, a former KPFA program director who asked Nyasha for her ideas to improve the station. "I was thinking I was going to have some real input (in the programming)," Nyasha stated, "but they went on and cut my program, never telling me a thing. This was like a stab in the back. They began talking about the 'Arbitron' rating. They brought in Jerry Brown and gave him a free-of-charge, daily one hour slot.

"Meanwhile, they cut a number of educational programs," Nyasha continued, "including 'Living Indian Time' which reflected some of the cultural traditions and struggles of native American people. The Arbitron system is used for rating mainstream stations, mainly in relation to the projected price range of their advertising time. This rating should not apply to KPFA."

Pacifica Pioneered Talk Radio Format

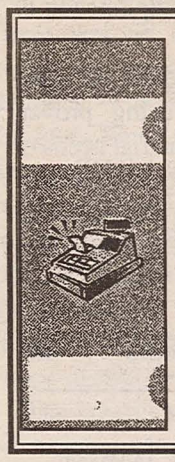
The Pacifica Foundation, the oldest listener-supported radio system in the United States, was founded in 1949 by Lewis Hill, a pacificist who registered as a conscientious objector at the outbreak of World War II. Hill worked as a Washington, D.C. correspondent before moving to California, where he founded KPFA. He headed Pacifica until his death in 1957. Hill, a visionary, pioneered the "talk radio" format which invites live listener call-ins. In 1950, Hill described the mission of KPFA: "The schedule has two sources in almost equal balance as to their importance and influence. On the one hand, these happen to be subjects of primary interest to people working at KPFA. On the other hand, they happen to also represent the articulate interests of well-defined minorities in the audience of the San Francisco Bay Area."

The Arbitron system is used for rating mainstream stations, mainly in relation to the projected price range of their advertising time.

"Pacifica stations have a history of widely reporting on details of government corruption, including government-sponsored terror in Third World countries and tolerance of drug trafficking by United States allies, and in some cases government employees," stated Ken McCarthey, a Bay Area writer.

"The current Board of Trustees, headed by Mary Francis Berry, is misusing its position to gain more control over KPFA to move it in a direction diametrically opposed to that of the original intent of its founder, Lewis Hill, by taking away its political independence and listener-participatory programming," concluded Nayasha.

All Power to the People!



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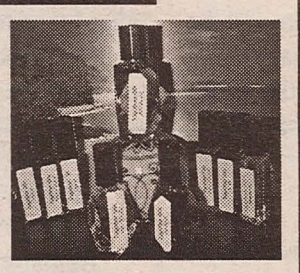

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World Demands Mumia's Release

Continued from page 1

closed down all west coast ports for one day, April 24, 1999, in coordination with nationwide rallies held from San Francisco to Washington, D.C. after the Philadelphia court denied Mumia's motion for a new trial. South African statesmen Nelson Mandela and Bishop Desmond Tutu, French President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Lionel Jospin, the European and Portuguese parliaments and many other international dignitaries and leaders have called for justice in Mumia's case.

Mumia Fights for Life, Freedom and Justice

"The corporate controlled media has all but ignored the growing and widespread support and political appeal of Mumia's fight for his life, freedom and justice in a legal system which is locking up more and more Black and minority workers every day," said Melvin Dickson, Chairman of the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party (CCBPP), "and where police brutality and misconduct occur several times a day in low-income communities all across the country. Mumia has yet to receive a fair hearing, and won't without constant public pressure brought to bear on the state and its legal system demanding his immediate freedom and a new trial."

Judge Sabo, whom critics have dubbed the "hanging judge," has sentenced 33 people to death, twice as many as any presiding judge in the nation. He and the state have sided with the Philadelphia police department, which currently has 1200 cases of police misconduct under review. Over 300 convictions by Philadelphia courts in recent years have been overturned because of manufactured or planted evidence used by police to illegally frame innocent people.

Police, Court Railroad Mumia into Prison

Mumia has been on Pennsylvania's death row for 17 years. As a founding member of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party and a radio journalist, Mumia's eloquent outspokenness and opposition to racial oppression and police brutality exposed the daily horrors of the government's war against poor and working class people, and made him a prime candidate for Federal Bureau of Investigation and police surveillance, harassment, and arrest.

Commemorator photo

Demonstrators young and old joined in Oakland to demand a new trial for Mumia in December, 1999.

With unprecedented speed for a murder case in which scant evidence existed against him, Mumia was convicted of the 1981 killing of Philadelphia policeman, William Faulkner.

For 18 years Mumia has been locked up 23 hours a day and denied contact visits with his family. His confidential legal mail has been opened and reproduced. Prison authorities moved Mumia to "punitive detention" shortly after publication of his book, *Live From Death Row,* now in its sixth printing.

Judge Sabo, who recently retired, has put more African-American men to death than any other judge in the country, consistent with the state's political purpose: silencing Mumia and all political opposition. Sabo is a lifetime member of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police, and he allowed large numbers of armed policemen in the courtroom during Mumia's trial.

"A Hanging Judge"

A fellow judge called Sabo's courtroom a "vacation for prosecutors" because of his bias toward convictions. *The Philadelphia Daily News,* which commonly supports the Philadelphia police, stated in an October 2, 1996 article that Sabo's "heavy-handed tactics can only confirm suspicions that Sabo's court is incapable of giving Abu-Jamal a fair hearing." When Sabo learned he had been rated unqualified by one-third of attorneys surveyed, he openly bragged about his pro-prosecution bias, saying if he were a defense attorney "I wouldn't vote for me, either."

During Mumia's 1995 hearing for a new and fair trial, Sabo refused to allow evidence uncovered by Mumia's lawyers to be presented. Included in this evidence was documentation on the extensive surveillance of Mumia by the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) terror operation, working closely with the Philadelphia police.

"The corporate controlled media has all but ignored the growing and widespread support and political appeal of Mumia's fight for his life, freedom and justice in a legal system which is locking up more and more black and minority workers every day . . ."

During this hearing, Sabo ordered that defense attorney Rachel Wolkenstein be handcuffed and thrown in jail when she objected to the quashing of any evidence of racial bias in the application of the death penalty in Philadelphia.

On June 1, 1995, Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge, elected in November 1994 on a "law and order" platform, signed the first warrant for Mumia's execution. The world outcry and protest were so tremendous that the governor was forced to rescind his earlier ruling, which resulted in a stay of Abu-Jamal's execution on August 7, 1995.

In April, 1999, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court denied Mumia's appeal.

Case Rife with Civil, Constitutional Violations

Mumia's legal team filed a petition for a writ of *habeas corpus* in federal court on October 15, 1999. The petition was based on the documentation of 29 violations of his constitutional rights, which included the suppression of evidence by the police and prosecutors, the coercion of witnesses, the fabricated "confession" by Mumia as he lay critically wounded in the hospital the night of the shooting, the suppression of documents about police surveillance of Mumia, and the refusal to allow Mumia to represent himself despite his protest that his lawyer was ineffective.

The Honorable William H. Yohn, Jr. is a 63-year-old Yale University Law School graduate and "moderate" Republican appointed to the federal third district court by then-President Bush. Thirteen days after the death warrant was signed, Yohn signed a stay of execution which temporarily halts the execution and is valid until the Federal District Court has concluded its work.

According to The Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, Yohn established time limits for the defense and prosecution to present written arguments. The defense had until December 7, 1999 to submit a memorandum of law, the document that sets out legal basis for the factual assertions stated in its habeas brief. The prosecution has 60 days to respond, after which the defense is allotted an additional 20 days for its final written rebuttal.

Federal Courrts Offer One Last Chance for Justice

Yohn is expected to set the date for oral argument in late March or early April, 2000. Mumia's defense team will request an evidentiary hearing where evidence excluded from the state court record by the notorious "hanging judge" Albert Sabo can be considered for the first time. Sabo ruled in favor of the prosecution in all 154 "findings of fact." However, the granting of an evidentiary hearing far from resolves Mumia's legal plight.

Yohn can grant the evidentiary hearing and at the same time hold that Sabo's "finding of fact," under the provisions of the 1996 Effective Death Penalty Act must be given a "presumption of correctness." That is, unless the defense can present evidence that is "clear and convincing" to refute Sabo's rulings, the more stringent "presumption of correctness" standard will prevail over the "preponderance of evidence" standard to refute the facts found by the state court.

Prosecution Witness White Contradicts Herself

The prosecution's case rested primarily on three eyewitnesses who supposedly identified Mumia as Police Officer Faulkner's killer. The prosecution's star witness was a prostitute named Cynthia White. While intimidating witnesses who could demonstrate Jamal's innocence, the police provided ample protection for their star witness, White. At the time of Mumia's trial, White was serving 18 months for prostitution in Massachusetts, and had 3 prostitution

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Hilliard Campaign

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shelter, to comprehensive health care and to education of the true history and nature of the society we live in and how we can change it for the better for the vast majority of the people.

"The Ten-Point program also demands freedom for all political prisoners – now hundreds of thousands in the United States – such as Mumia Abu-Jamal, Ruchell Magee, Fred Hampton, Jr., Lester Hamilton and Hugo Pinell. None of them had a trial of their peers, nor adequate legal representation to fight for their rights accorded to all citizens by the United States Constitution. And that makes continued incarceration unjust," Dickson continued.

Sweep arrests of area residents have increased in West Oakland since Brown became mayor.

What made the Black Panther Party revolutionary in the 1960s is that it began to organize the exploited, the oppressed and the dispossessed, to demand that their economic and political interests be addressed. The Black Panther Party built survival programs while at the same time demanding a comprehensive addressment to the problems of working people as a class. In the words of Dr. Huey P. Newton, Black Panther Party co-founder, "Power is the ability to define phenomenon and make it act in a desired manner."

Hilliard told *The Commemorator* (See also Interview with David Hilliard, this issue) that incumbent politicians have failed to sufficiently address the low-income minority community's concerns, such as the warehousing of young black men in prisons. Hilliard has continued, throughout his campaign, to point to systematic police harassment of West Oakland's neighborhoods and removal of residents through so-called urban redevelopment plans, like the Seventh Street McClymonds Corridor Plan promoted by Oakland Mayor Jerry Brown. Hilliard is a long-time resident of West Oakland and a former political prisoner.

Dickson commented, "West Oakland's low-income neighborhoods must be collectivized around the needs of the oppressed on a day-to-day basis, which is what the Ten – Point program is about. Such an approach is in line with Newton's concept of revolutionary intercommunalism and the Black Panther Party survival program."

Stand on Principle

Hilliard's platform mandates that the City Council work to ensure West Oakland residents receive access to funds and programs aimed at redeveloping the area instead of being railroaded out. "West Oakland cannot be ignored; it is the base of Black Oakland, where Blacks first settled in the city, moving north in answer to Henry Kaiser's call for the World War II effort," states Hilliard.

The San Francisco Foundation, funded by the William and Flora Packard Foundation, has offered $4.5 million to local groups willing to participate in the Seventh McClymonds Corridor Plan. The Oakland Citizens Council for Urban Renewal (OCCUR) and the National Economic Development and Law Center are two organizations that have accepted the funds without making any such commitments.

Sweep arrests of area residents have increased in West Oakland since Brown became mayor. The recent push toward a "get tough on crime" approach does support the desire of some to make way for an upscale, White-only community. The funding for enforcing this "zero tolerance" policy comes from public money that could have gone to living wage jobs, comprehensive health care or education. Brown, like so many of the nation's politicians, prioritizes redevelopment for the upwardly mobile and the well-to-do, at the expense of the lives of the majority of working and low income communities.

To help build organization true to the principles which can advance our poor and minority communities call the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party at (510) 652-8828 or write. Organize!

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An Interview with David Hilliard: Part II - Hilliard Bids for Council Seat

(Editor's Note: This is Part II of an interview by Commemorator's *editor, Melvin Dickson, held January, 1999)*

DICKSON: What do you think was the most important and lasting contribution of the Black Panther Party? What do you think were its biggest mistakes?

HILLIARD: Our programs, which we left as a legacy, were free breakfast programs, our senior program, and even our voter registration style which is now being imitated and acted on by the Democratic Party with our "free chicken in every bag" methodology to attract voters. Many of our programs are being taken over by mainstream politicians. As a matter of fact, most of the programs that we went to jail for and died for are now being debated as public policy. For instance, universal health care is an agenda that the president of America talks about implementing and the mayor of San Francisco, Willie Brown, is also talking about implementing. With these various politicians talking about implementing free medical health care, well, that's something we tried to agitate for 32 years ago.

I think our most valuable contributions were our ideas. It was the ideology that the United States Government was really afraid of. Of course America did not think that the Black Panther Party was the number one threat to internal security. We couldn't overthrow the government and we understood that and Huey taught us that. The Party was a vehicle to raise the consciousness of the masses until such time that the people themselves see it appropriate to transform the system. That was our role. Our organization did not have the power to overthrow the government.

The government designated us as a threat, so the police agencies could get greater funding which would give the authority to wipe us out. They designated us as a threat with guns a menace to society. That laid the ground work for them to eliminate us. I think that it was the Black Panther Party's ideas they were afraid of. If you look at it, 1999 going into the year 2000, people are still debating this Black Panther Party. "What it really meant," "What it really stood for." So it was the ideas that were truly the contingent that got the youth of America involved with the Black Panther Party. White kids from SDS [Students for a Democratic Society]. Asian kids from the Chinese community's Red Guard. The brown community from the Los Sieta de la Raza and the Young Lords, the farm workers, the coalition with the gays, and the movement of white women, the National Organization of Women who associated with our ideas. It was this idea that I think was the greatest contribution of the Black Panther Party, because as we used to say, "The spirit of the people is certainly greater than the man's technology." Our ideas survived. That is the spirit of the Black Panther Party.

DICKSON: What do you think was the most important structural shortcoming of the Party?

HILLIARD: Well, I think we had a lot of shortcomings. Chief among that is that we were 18, 24, and 17 year-old high school kids. You don't expect high school kids and college kids to come with an agenda and the scientific know-how to administer a political organization. We were learning. We were in a learning mold. We were embryonic and we learned as we got involved in the struggle. So, chief among the organizational shortcomings was that we were a youthful organization and we made mistakes, no doubt about that. But we did what we did even though we had these great obstacles to overcome. We did it in spite of it, and we learned. Another negative in retrospect, is how we got totally boxed in this image of militancy and guns. That is what gave us our national appeal, especially our youth constituency, it also was our anathema. It's also what is used this very day to terrorize, and to make people afraid of us. That is what we brought — violence upon ourselves — because of the weapons, because of the guns, etc. In a lot of ways our posture with the guns put us in the American psyche on an international level and attracted youth, but it was a downfall for us because that is the only thing that we are noted for. We are still, to this very day, fighting to overcome that imagery. So, I think that it has both its positive and its negative, as does everything else. Most important however, we were very young. We were running, as we struggled and we made a lot of mistakes but we also got some successes from those failures. So I guess if one can gain success from failures, it's not altogether a failure. We made a lot of mistakes...there were many, many mistakes we made. I can go on and on. We learned, and moved on and we developed, and we grew.

DICKSON: As you know, Eldridge Cleaver died last year, and in your book, *This Side of Glory*, you explain that Eldridge actively promoted militarism, and adventurism, armed struggle tactics, after Huey's arrest in 1967 and before Cleaver himself fled the country, over your objection and Huey's. How do you think things would have been different if you and Bobby had stopped that kind of activity at that time?

HILLIARD: Well, it's kind of hard to measure. In retrospect, I can give some analysis to the situation. We know that Bobby Hutton would still be alive. He would not have died that night in any event. We can't say that he would have lived beyond another week, but that particular event would not have taken his life. Eldridge would have made a more valuable contribution than having to leave the country and leave the Party leaving this vacancy in terms of his leadership. He could have been here carrying out

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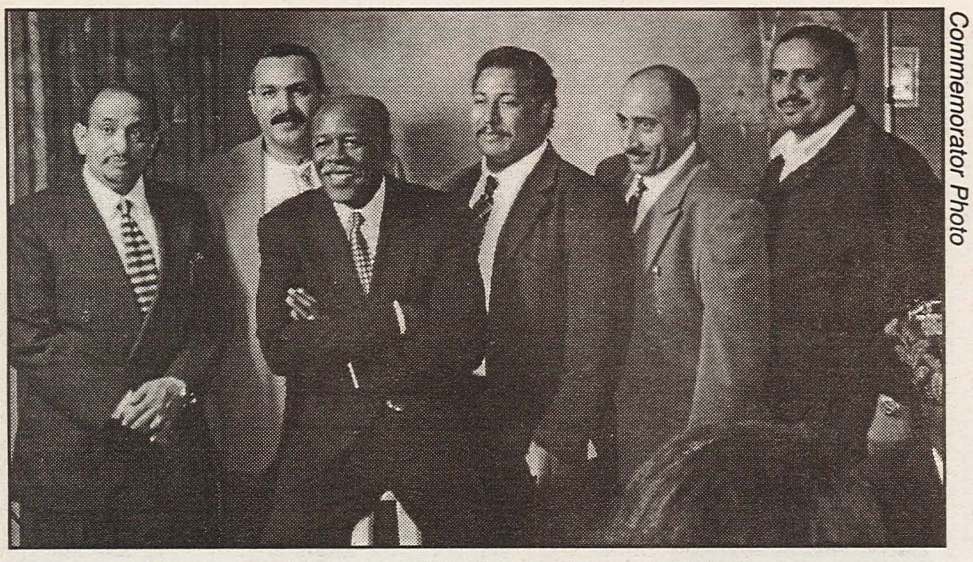

Commemorator Photo

David Hilliard, Oakland's Third District candidate, meets with local Arab business association.

his work as the Minister of Information, organizing the newspaper and doing basic community work. Eldridge never got a chance to do any of the community programs. That period was short-lived. I think that most of all Bobby Hutton would have still been alive.

DICKSON: What do you think were your greatest successes with the Party? Your most serious errors?

HILLIARD: Well, I think the community programs. That's what I was attacked for. Eldridge said that I turned the Party into a reformist organization with the breakfast for children program, that I totally abandoned the revolutionary posture of the Party by putting too much attention in the survival programs. He differed with Huey's leadership in that. Huey said that this is precisely what we should do. Huey said in order to get the support of the people, you have to give the people the basis of support. It is a survival tool. In our analysis, the survival programs were a life raft, taking the people safely to shore, pending the transformation of society. Those were very necessary programs. I think those were some of the greater contributions that the Black Panther Party made that are still unnoticed for the most part. One can never avoid internal contradictions in movement, in organization, in anything. Contradictions are the ruling principle of the universe and it is the internal struggle of opposites that gives motion to matter. If we did not have these contradictions then there would be no advances. I think it was Fredrick Douglass who said that "without struggle there will be no progress." You cannot have organization without having contradictions because contradictions are the only absolutes.

DICKSON: You wrote in your book that you preferred to concentrate at that time on the idea of serving the people, which of course includes those who are unemployed and underemployed and needed jobs at living wages. How do you feel about those programs now? Do you support local, independent efforts to organize low-income workers with programs that provide for their needs so they can struggle against the forces that continue to oppress them?

HILLIARD: Absolutely, I think there is a need to continue to organize around those issues of economic and political equality. Those areas, in terms of jobs, housing, medical care, and schools, are issues that we are going to have to take up again, with the same passion and the same energy that we did when we were members of the Black Panther Party. Another generation has to be politicized, has to understand the need to organize around those issues — absolutely! We cannot abandon those issues. If we can not address those issues, then we are irrelevant.

DICKSON: What do you think are your greatest personal strengths? Your most serious personal shortcomings? What have you done to overcome them?

HILLIARD: I think that I'm still in a learning mold. I'm learning more every day. I think that I'm beginning to learn to be more patient. I'm gaining in my ability to become more understanding of others. I think that is a strength. My weaknesses are also in the area of not being able to give more, twice as much, now that I'm older. I don't have the energy I had 20 or 30 years ago. I am sorry about that. I wish that I could give more. I wish that I could recreate myself and be three times as productive. I'm always critical of my limitations because I can't give a 28-hour commitment to the struggle I still believe in. I still have my strengths and weaknesses. I acquired a lot of my shortcomings, so I am not dissatisfied with this person at 56 years old and give myself kudos and daily affirmations that keep me in the fight because it very depressing when you look around at the community and the shape it's in, to even have the will to keep going and I think it's my strength to want to keep up the fight. I'm trying to do it.

DICKSON: In your book it was very revealing you talked about some personal problems in particular the alcohol, the drugs and overcoming that. Are you still in the 12 step program?

HILLIARD: Yes, I'm recovering. The answer to that is one is always in the process of recovering. One doesn't always overcome. Once an alcohol addict you are always an alcohol addict. It's also a struggle, a day to day struggle, to not use drugs or alcohol. Not only that, but to not be abused by people because when chemical addictions are over, there's these psychological problems that you have to deal with. That is when I am trying to be more mature in dealing with people on a day to day basis and relationships. I have overcome that. I am now a practicing human being. I'm trying to learn to be a higher manifestation of a man and develop a greater understanding and to be kinder and how to deal with my own emotional immaturity because I still have a lot of psychological problems that came with that use and abuse so it's a day to day struggle.

DICKSON: What do you think we need to do with youth that have been brought up in this atmosphere of violence and poverty? How would this problem be dealt with — this is a kind of broad question but it is a question in terms of our young folks today. How do you see we approach this?

HILLIARD: All we can give is our historical experience. We do not own the future. They are the future and, hopefully, they'll use this as a guide to go into the future. I think that there are some good things they can learn from us, based on some of the things that we did so that they don't have to repeat those mistakes that we made. I don't think we're in the position to tell young people what to do as if we had the total answers to their problems, because obviously we don't. Look how messed up the world is. Part of it is giving them our experience and our best to make certain that they are not self-destructive and have faith that they'll do just as we did, make it through the rough times and that they'll come out of it better people. We certainly did. We didn't think that anybody from our generation could tell us anything, and surely young people don't want to hear a lot of this old jaded history that we have, so the best thing that we can offer them is our experiences and hopefully they will move the agenda further. I think the young people get a bad rap and I have a tendency to do it myself. But after all they are the brightest and the most educated generation of black folks since we have come out of slavery. They are obviously bright and geniuses when they can take a trunk full of records and end up on *Forbes* magazine with $125 million dollars to their own personal assets. I like this new hip hop group called Black Street. These guys are clean, their rap is clean, they do these events where no alcohol is served. I think they are on the right track in giving the right kind of respect and have them exposed to the right information. I think that some of our history is good history, and I think they'll work it out just as we did. But I think that this is a bright and intelligent generation and I have faith that they'll do the right thing.

DICKSON: Some members of the academic community made comments about the Black Panther Party relying on the lumpen-proletariat as the vanguard, as its base for building its cadre. How do you feel about that? How do you feel about lumpen-proletariat as a cadre base for organizing a community today?

HILLIARD: When I look around today it is more true today than ever before that ranks of the unemployed are swelling every day because of technology and people losing their jobs. It's not uncommon to see a guy on the corner with a Ph.D working as a janitor, while a general laborer is pushing a buggy down the street.

It's as we predicted that the ranks of the underemployed would swell because of technology, and technology replacing jobs.

Our analysis bears out that the points of contradiction that would be carried out by that underclass, the unemployables, the middle class that's been forced out of work who now find common bases as they swell the ranks of the lumpen-proletariat. I think we were pretty much on target with that analysis, especially with this highly technological society where people are being put onto the street and displaced *en masse*. As Huey used to say, "it's just a matter of harnessing their energy and pointing it in a direction that would transform society."

DICKSON: Given the huge expansion of the size of the underclass and the explosion in arrests and imprisonments among minority members, don't you think today's street youth are every bit as assured that they are being discriminated against and

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Hilliard Campaign

Continued from previous page

oppressed by the police as you were in the 60s and 70s?

HILLIARD: I think that there has certainly been an increase in prisons. As we were subjected in the 1960s to something called military industrial complex, now it's a prison industrial complex, and with the privatization of prison, there's just no doubt that these trends are growing. Prisons are the economy of the year 2000 and African-American men and women are the number one target. Crime is down, and yet the prison industry is bustling. Corporate bosses are making billions of dollars from this prison industry. Prisoners are commodities; it's big business.

Hopefully this issue will become an issue that people organize around, especially African-Americans and Latinos who make up the greater part of the prison population. I would like to see more emphasis and organizing done in that area. As a matter of fact, that's what we are trying to do here in our new organization: Family with a Future, and the Huey P. Newton Foundation.

DICKSON: What can we do about the growing prison industry? It is interesting that you mentioned the prison industry because it is a big issue. No politician has ever mentioned the topic of the out of proportion prison population. It is growing so out of proportion that it seems like it is becoming almost impossible to ignore. Do you see what I mean?

HILLIARD: Let's talk about that for a minute, because of what politicians do: they run and they seem to win elections on law and order tickets, these campaigns for crime, and increasing police presence in the community, and building more prisons. They run on an agenda of hysteria for the building of more prisons, and on "get tough" on crime policy, explaining the fact that these "crimes" are in part economic, and that most people who are taken to prison are in for dealing drugs which has an economic basis as its foundation. Certainly a counter to that would be more jobs, and making programs available for training people. You are exactly right — these politicians use crime to garner votes by whipping up hysteria among the voters, especially the white middle class voting population. How is crime "out of hand," and why do we have to have a "stronger police presence and a get tough policy," when in fact crime is on the decline, according to their own statistics?.

DICKSON: Can you shed some light on the Family with a Future Organization you've put together with your colleague, Ida Robinson, for your readers?

HILLIARD: Ida is doing a very necessary program connecting low-income young people with their parents. It's a program for mothers and incarcerated women, a bussing to prison program, busing families to prisons, especially young people, and children to connect them with parents. It is very traumatic for kids to be separated from their parents, especially their mothers. So our goal, in the very near future, is to use a van that we have possession of and start taking kids to visit their parents in local county jail facilities between San Francisco, Oakland, Dublin, etc. That is only one of the programs. We are also talking about building a literacy program within the juvenile facilities. We are already doing a monthly free book give-a-way and we are planning to extend that to the juvenile facility in order to aid them in their ability to read.

***I think we were pretty much on target with that analysis, especially with this highly technological society where people are being put onto the street and displaced* en masse.**

DICKSON: I know that you're more than familiar with this. Point number two of the Black Panther Party 10-Point program states: "We want full employment for our people. We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken away from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all its people and give a high standard of living."

The City of Oakland, the State of California and the Federal Government have adopted a number of programs and policies such as the installation of workfare programs, enterprise zones and empowerment zones, which purport to address the creation of jobs, but give huge tax breaks to businesses located in these zones and minimal wage to the worker. Do you endorse enterprise zones and empowerment zones and if so, why? Do you see these programs as a viable means of achieving a high standard of living for all the people of the community?

HILLIARD: No. I see that this is just more of the same, where these big businesses get these huge tax write offs and greater profits, where the people get lower paying jobs, jobs that they certainly cannot live off of. I think that there should be a greater partnership between groups in the community who can deliver services. I think people with programs like the Enterprise Zone, and some of the workfare, welfare monies should be given to groups that are doing upgrade training for people teaching interview techniques, teaching reading and writing because many of these people have never had jobs in their lives and need time to be prepared to go into the workforce, but after you prepare them, then you've got to give them decent jobs. We need to create jobs and I think one of the ways that we can do that is to start going to big businesses like the Port, and some of the businesses in Oakland and make sure that there is parity between these companies, that are getting the tax breaks, to be sure people get a pretty decent wage. I think that also maybe we should have a return to these trade colleges, trade schools, like we had in the 1960s, the skills banks, where people can learn how to be mechanics, where they can learn construction trades, and make a decent living, because people are still fixing cars and repairing and building houses, and I think there should be a greater emphasis on training people so that they can have a decent job. Businesses would go to the high schools to sign kids up, let them work, and get a decent salary while they learn. We would start back doing on-the-job training. We need to return to the agenda of the 1960s and 1970s of recruiting young people right out of high school training them to become viable representatives of their community, teaching them sound work ethics, and with good training and skills learned at the most crucial time in their young lives, giving them a way out of the present cycle, which businesses have profited from in the past. I'd like to see, the implementation of more high tech training for these high school students, those being dropped from the welfare roles as well so that they can sustain their family structure and maintain a needed sense of pride and self-worth.

This can't be done in two, three weeks, or six months for that matter. Companies need some subsidies and they need some training. I'd like to see businesses adopt a better working relationship with young people as they graduate from high school in the fields of high technology and related areas that will definitely put all people to work and not in prisons, and former welfare families back into the work force.

DICKSON: President Clinton has put 100,000 more policemen on the streets in our nation, with an additional $6 billion into crime control. What effect do you think that is going to have on the people of West Oakland?

HILLIARD: Very little, I don't think it's going to cut so-called crime because crime is economic. All these people have needs; they need to pay their rent and have medical care. The greater police presence is certainly not alleviating debts. I think it can best be served by putting that $6 billion into training and jobs, building better schools, not better prisons. That is why I'm running for City Council, we don't offer young people prisons, we give them hope and we give them options, we'll give them skills and we'll prepare them a way in which they can support themselves. We certainly need to shift in that whole attitude. More police are certainly not going to curtail the crime problem. Remember, we said that crime is really down but greater police presence seems to get

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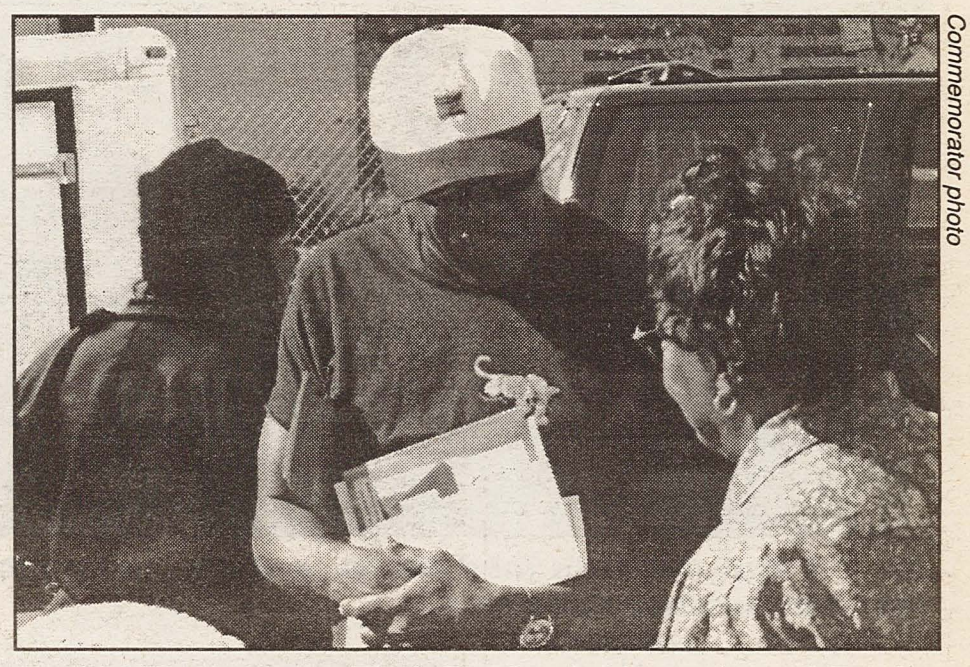

Commemorator photo

David Hilliard, former Black Panther leader and candidate for West Oakland Third District, campaigns neighborhood.

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Hilliard Campaign

Continued from previous page

even more of the budget. We are certainly not against police because we advocated the police residency requirement. The Black Panther Party advocated if the police are going to police our community that they in fact live in our community. I don't understand the message that we are against the police. Certainly there can be a better use of our money than adding more and more police and prisons when the problem is economic at its basis. We need more jobs, more training and less prisons.

DICKSON: What did you learn from your experience on the Oakland Human Relation Commission? What did you accomplish there? Did you find it a positive experience?

HILLIARD: Actually, I haven't spent a whole lot of time on the Oakland Human Relation Commission. It is a volunteer position. The reason being is that I have taken quite a bit of time trying to build this non-profit foundation [Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation] of which I am executive director. I also spent a great amount of time working on the Jerry Brown campaign and now I'm working in my own campaign for City Council Representative to District 3. Therefore, I haven't had much time on the Human Relations Commission. In the future I plan to be more involved in the Huey Newton Foundation which is my daily work.

DICKSON: In regards to health care facilities, since health care is a big issue, a big concern especially with the elder citizens.

HILLIARD: This is directly related to Point #6 in the Black Panther Party program. We need better health care, no ifs, ands or buts about it. We need a greater emphasis on delivery of health care especially to seniors and to young people. Some of the young people don't have to worry about it now because they won't be impacted with any real major health problems, but that is certainly a part of my focus. My focus is a campaign to bring great health care services to the community. One of the things that you know that we're noted for in our history of the Black Panther Party, is getting doctors and nurses and people from the medical community to donate their services in the free health clinics and to defend human rights. If we could do that without Federal, County or City subsidy then, certainly the Federal, County, and City can get together and deliver these services now.

All Power to the People

Commemorator photo

Third Eye, local youth hip-hop group, helps lead the Mumia protest march in downtown Oakland, December, 11, 1999.

World Demands Mumia's Release

Continued from page 15

charges awaiting trial in Philadelphia.. At a 1997 appeal hearing in Jamal's case, Pamela Jenkins, a prostitute and friend of White's, testified that shortly after the shooting, White had told her that "she was in fear for her life from the police" who were trying to get her to say something about the shooting.

White was the only trial witness who claimed to see Jamal, gun in hand, shoot Faulkner. At the time of the shooting, however, she denied seeing Jamal with a gun. White claimed the shooter was 5'8." Jamal is 6'1." White claimed to be at the scene of the crime, but no other witnesses, including the prosecution's two other trial witnesses, saw her there. The only witness who recalled seeing White at all said she was over half a block away at the time of the shooting. After the trial, White was allowed to continue to work as a prostitute for years, with police protection, until she conveniently "disappeared."

Seize the Time

"We cannot rely on the courts to free Mumia, especially if you are Mumia, especially if you are an activist, if you are for blacks, if you are for the poor, if you are for the gays, if you are for justice. We have to raise the stakes. And if we raise the stakes, Mumia will be free," stated Larry Holmes with the National Peoples Campaign at a march and rally held in Oakland, California December 11, 1999.

It is not solely about Mumia's life. It's about my life and your life. It's about the elimination of slavery, repression and genocide against working class people worldwide. It's about the direction of the country and the world. It's about taking power from the international ruling class in the form of living wage jobs, housing fit for the shelter of human beings, education that teaches us how to eliminate the oppressive condition we face collectively; it's about comprehensive health care for all. It's about building the type of movement that will not roll over when the first windstorm comes along, but will hunker down and fight. In short, it's about seizing the time so that the Black Panther Ten Point Program can be implemented in full.

All Power to the People!

I wish the Commemoratiion Committee for the Black Panther Party much success in your
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— Mike Finholt

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Capitalism and Genocide

Continued from page 10

found that each year 500,000 third world children die easily preventable deaths, as a direct result of governments being forced to cut health programs in order to service debts owed to the wealthy capitalist ruling circles in the U.S. and advanced developed nations. The policy of continually demanding payment or service of such debt with full knowledge that the human cost is a half a billion children dying unnecessarily each year is an example of GENOCIDE.

Experts estimate one to three million North Korean famine deaths by the year 2,000 (with children, women and elderly the first to die). This famine is merely organized mass hunger resulting predictably and therefore intentionally as a direct result of the state enforced policies of global, monopoly capitalism. The surplus food storage facilities of the U.S. and wealthy developed nations are bursting at the seams, while the deliberate withholding of lifesaving food for economic and political reasons, predictably, therefore intentionally, cause millions of starvation deaths in places such as North Korea and (recently bombed by the U.S.) Sudan. This is an example of GENOCIDE.

Pat Buchanan cited, in his *Boston Herald,* editorial column, a *Washington Post* study showing that at least 239,000 Iraqi children have died from easily preventable conditions, caused by the U.S. ruling-class orchestrated embargo and sanctions imposed on Iraq since 1991. The continuance of the embargo and the sanction with this predictable, therefore intentional result, is an example of GENOCIDE.

All branches of governments work in tandem to extend the reach of these special laws.

South Africa's African National Congress (ANC), before becoming South Africa's legal governing party, published a paper on the history of the development of the global AIDS pandemic. ANC medical scientists concluded that the Pentagon had participated in and funded research at the primate research centers in Bankok Thailand and University of California's at Davis, where they developed a Simian Immune Deficiency virus (SIV) similar to HIV, the virus that cause AIDS.

According to the ANC paper, human malaria (an epidemic disease in parts of Africa) was injected into monkeys whose spleens had been removed to reduce their immune defenses. These monkeys first developed human herpes and exhibited SIV in their blood. The ANC paper states that the most likely scenario is that SIV was genetically altered to allow it to cross the species barrier and infect humans. On January 31, 1999, at a major conference, in Chicago, on retroviruses (HIV is a retrovirus), scientists from around the world agreed, based on a U.S. National Institute of Allergies and Infectious Diseases funded study, reported by Dr. Beatrice Hahn of the University of Alabama, that AIDS started with chimpanzees.

Hahn said her team nailed down the connection by analyzing frozen tissue saved from a chimp named Marilyn that died from complications of childbirth at a U.S. Air Force primate center 14 years ago. They used techniques to perform genetic analysis that were not available when the chimp died.

"She had never been used in AIDS research and had not received human pool products after 1969," Hahn writes in her report in the science journal, *Nature.*

Humans are the only creatures that can get HIV, which stands for human immunodeficency virus. But apes and monkeys get a simian immunodificiency virus or SIV.

Previously, only three cases of chimpanzees infected with SIV had been documented. When Hahn's team found the virus in Marilyn, they compared it to the other SIV viruses and to several strains of HIV.

The three SIV strains taken from west African chimps — known as Pan troglodytes and including Marilyn — very strongly resembled the three subgroups of HIV.

In addition to supporting the ANC's conclusions, this raises many questions such as why would tissue samples from a chimp who died from something as common as childbirth complications, be saved and suddenly thawed out after 14 years, if there was no biological weapons program experimentation "monkeys business," afoot. The ANC paper also implicated the Pentagon in development and introduction into Haiti of a virus which decimated its swine population. Haitians were initially listed as high risk as HIV carriers.

As of 1992 approximately 62.5% of all HIV cases, 81.0% of all female and 52.0% of all male HIV cases, were in Africa. Africa has the lowest life expectancies: Malawi 35.3 years; Zambia 35.6; Rwanda 39.1; Uganda 39.7; Zimbawe 40.8; Niger 41.1; Tanzania 41.7; and Africa overall 49.9; compared with 46 for a Black male in Harlem.

As HIV cases in Africa develop into AIDS, the cost of treating the infected, on a continent with about a $2 per person health-care expenditure, will consume all of Sub-saharan Africa's growth potential. It is very likely that American-led global monopoly capitalism will impose, through the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization, economic and political conditions, making it impossible for Africa to finance treatment of its AIDS victims, with the predictable, therefore intentional, result of GENOCIDE in the form of tens of millions of infected, infecting 100s of millions who will almost certainly die.

Although American-led global capitalism was built up through an official policy of genocide which claimed 60 million American Indian lives, and an international slave trade claiming tens of millions (at a minimum) and probably well over 100 million Black African lives, and Nazi Germany exterminated six million Jewish people, ironically the first persons in history to be charged with genocide under international law are black Africans.

These new laws create new police powers and agencies which expand the machinery and reach of the overall police state, as a precondition and historical marker for state enforced genocide.

None of the Nazi war criminals were charged with genocide, only with war crimes, crimes against peace, and then halfway through the Nuremburg trials, crimes against humanity, but not with genocide. Even more ironic, the lead prosecutor in some of these cases was a U.S. federal prosecutor.

Against this backdrop, petitions charging the U. S. ruling-class with genocide and human rights violations, filed by the Pan African Republic and National Black United Front face seemingly insurmountable obstacles. Ultimately the people organized in our own historic self-interest as an oppressed class for itself and armed with the supreme weapon of truth must define the problem and solution to the problem of modern genocide.

Modern Genocide: The Warning Sign

The warning signs of modern genocide begin with the development and relentless presentation (by the not free but just cheap ruling-class press) of dehumanizing social images. These become code word labels which define and portray members of target groups as dangerous social deviants. Today such dehumanizing, code word, social image labels include: welfare slacker-cheat; gang leader-member; desperate, diseased or deranged homeless person; criminal or sexual predator; dead-beat parent; drug kingpin-trafficker; illegal alien; drug-courier profile match or high drug or crime area resident; security threat group member.

Warning signs exist in the accelerating body of special laws which attach criminal, civil and other liabilities to each dehumanizing, social image label, creating a legal status which administrative agencies are given law enforcement jurisdiction. In some low income inner-city areas, for example 50.0% of families have at least one parent and 100.0% one relative in prison, jail, on parole or probation or in hiding because of an arrest warrant. These new laws create new police powers and agencies which expand the machinery and reach of the overall police state as a precondition and historical marker for state enforced genocide.

All branches of government work in tandem to extend the reach of these special laws and the jurisdictional reach of their enforcement agencies, departments of police, correctional, social services, health, revenue, and housing authorities, for example, to encompass widening sectors of the population and more and more areas of social conduct and relations. The 1996 federal so-called welfare reform laws used the media-created dead-beat parent hysteria, to force each to create a new-hires registry that must report every new hire to the federal government, as condition of receiving federal welfare grant funding.

It also makes available federal incentive money to states for the prevention of births among those with inadequate income who apply for welfare. Still another warning sign of modern genocide is the subtle subjection of increasing sectors of the population to policies that reduce population and births of certain classes of people (those with inadequate income) such as: euthanasia (now government-funded and increasingly mandatory by default), contraception, capital punishment (including being gunned down by police), incarceration, denial of health care and adequate living income. All of these factors determine birth, death and sickness rates, life expectancy, family stability, poverty, hunger and homelessness rates.

Persons suffering under these socio-economic ills, tend to end up under jurisdiction of administrative

Continued on next page

"Where to begin? Our ignorance is so profound."
— Bob Randolph

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My Brothers and Sisters of the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party continue to inspire the struggle for freedom
— Pierre La Bossier

2nd Annual Black History Month

The Black Panther Party's programs made a difference in the well being of the people. Good health to the Commemorator Staff
— Jay Garrett

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agencies where state policies, historically associated with genocide, are enforced, such as euthanasia in lieu of health-care access, forced labor and mandatory contraception as conditions of receipt of life and death essentials from the government.

The rise of the prison-industrial-complex based on both-paid and prison wage-slavery which generates billions of dollars a year in convict produced products and $165 billion annually in corporate sales, is almost certainly an integral part of the apparatus for state sponsored genocide.

Genocide: and the Global Economics of Population Control

Until the British political economist Thomas Malthus, fertility was believed to enhance the national wealth and social policy encouraged large families through poor laws which created the dole (state welfare). In 1798 Malthus anonymously published a work which essentially stated that human hopes for happiness are in vain because population growth will always tend to outrun the growth of production (food especially) and the increase in population if unchecked will expand to the limit beyond which subsistence would be impossible. He held only famine, war and ill health could hold population from going beyond the limit of subsistence and that only vice (including contraception per Malthus) misery and self restraint could keep population from moving toward its limit.

Throughout the earth, war, famine and ill health are everywhere, organized by the forces of American-led global monopoly capitalism.

He never adequately set out his premises, logically, factually and statistically, and his empirical scientific base was admittedly weak. His premise is only true however (when it's true) under the conditions of capitalist production, where private owners of the means of large scale social production do not allocate the resources for production in such a way that production of food, clothing, shelter and health care based upon need are priorities. Malthus called for the end of poor laws that increased birth rates of the poor, and instead of doles, proposed harsh work houses. Modern workfare is based on this model.

David Ricardo, a confidant of Malthus, formulated the iron law of wages based significantly on Malthus' population-growth theory. He held that when the profit of capital went up, labor's wages had to go down and vice versa. He thus answered the economic question of how much should a worker be paid, by stating just enough to survive to get back to work, reasoning that any pay above this limit would tend to increase the birth rate among the poor.

Malthus' and Ricardo's policies are incorporated in the foundations of capitalist socio-economic theory and policy. The law of diminishing returns (applied to production) holds that there is a point at which no more labor can be employed without decreasing production. This leads to the idea of an optimum population beyond which it is no longer profitable or desirable from the capitalist standpoint to continue to finance the existence of a safety net, either through wages or social welfare. Persons within this group, without income adequate to pay for survival, in an increasing set of situations are the targets of modern genocide, implemented through state enforced policies, which predictably end in preventable suffering and death.

Throughout the earth, war, famine and ill health are everywhere, organized by the forces of American-led global monopoly capitalism: Death by war, AIDS, starvation, deliberate lack of government warning of, protection from and response to natural disasters, government assisted suicide, death by sanction and embargo, with three billion of the world's people living on less than $2 a day while 225 billionaires own most of the world's wealth. We must advance survival program NOW in order to survive to struggle for life, for total, permanent, complete and unconditional victory!!!

All Power to the People!!!

Pardon Magee

Continued from page 4

jury acquittal and the entering of a guilty plea on May 10, 1974 to the charge on kidnap (PC 209) for which the jury had found Magee innocent.

12) Because Magee's lawyers failed to argue that the jury gave their acquittal verdicts to the trial judge *before* the judge ordered a mistrial, another seven year to life sentence was issued on January 23, 1975 by Superior Court Judge William Ingram of Santa Clara County, to run concurrent with the Los Angeles County sentence. The fact the jury acquittal was lost or concealed, and there was an attempt to impeach the verdict through a patently false affidavit introduced by a lone juror, one William Irwin, claiming against the evidence of the remaining jurors that there was not a unanimous verdict. The spectre of coercion is highly suspect in this matter.

13) Since this time, appellate court judges' gag orders have denied Mr. Magee the right to file legal documents questioning judges' suppression of evidence of innocence.

14) Since the Los Angeles County prosecution, Magee has served 36 years in the California prison system on a kidnap offense that maxes out at 13 years. However, the Board of Prison Terms has failed to fix time under the 1976 legislation SB 42 (now Penal Code 1170.2), which required that time be set in all life indeterminate sentences.

15) In the early 1980's, the Board, acting in illegal judicial manner, jacked up the seven years to life term imprisonment without possibility of parole, by adding the allegation that Magee was not suitable for release and represented a threat to the public. "Suitability" was not a part of the law when Magee was sentenced.

16) The public at large does not see Magee as a threat. People familiar with his case see Magee, like the San Francisco jury, as a person who has been substantially punished for the simple kidnap in 1970 in which he took part, and can be expected to suffer more in future from invasion of his privacy and exploitation of his experiences. Had it not been for the court ignoring jury acquittal, Magee would have been released long ago.

17) Further **Magee would not have been in prison on August 7, 1970 had Los Angeles County Judge Herbert V. Walker not been confused and incompetent in his failure to remember that he found Magee's lawyer (Clay Jacke) guilty of misrepresentation in filing and then withdrawing a plea of not guilty by reason of insanity in the July 1965 trial. A mistrial would have been declared, and the judge discharged before allowing them to enter a guilty verdict.**

18) During said trial Walker ordered Magee chained and muzzled in the presence of the jury for objecting to lawyer Jacke's insanity plea, which objection he had every constitutional right to make.

19) Again, during the first trial (May 1963) a guilty plea was entered by J. Stanley Brill over Magee's objection, and Judge Walker allowed DA Marshall Schulman to sabotage Magee's testimony by telling the jury the injured party's testimony could not be used to convict Magee and Stewart because of its patent falsity and contradictions, and that they must convict on the public defender's guilty plea.

20) This is all pointed out to show why the Board of Prison Terms has denied release. All prisoners sentenced to seven years to life for kidnap, even for first degree murder in the 60's have been released by the board, acting in accord with Penal Code 1170.2. The Board members have seemed indifferent or unaware that they are violating their own policy by failure to set time in Magee's case in accordance with *In Re Rodriguez, 14 Cal. 3d.639.*

Given the above circumstances, Governor Davis should grant clemency, releasing Magee with no record of previous convictions to be used by government officials.

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For Revolutionary Suicide

Continued from page 9

To understand revolutionary suicide it is first necessary to have an idea of reactionary suicide, for the two are very different. Dr. Hendin was describing reactionary suicide: the reaction of a man who takes his own life in response to social conditions that overwhelm him and condemn him to helplessness. The young black men in his study had been deprived of human dignity, crushed by oppressive forces, and denied their right to live as proud and free human beings.

A section in Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* provides a good analogy. One of the characters, Marmeladov, a very poor man, argues that poverty is not a vice. In poverty, he says, a man can attain the innate nobility of soul that is not possible in beggary; for while society may drive the poor man out with a stick, the beggar will be swept out with a broom. Why? Because the beggar is totally demeaned, his dignity lost. Finally, bereft of self-respect, immobilized by fear and despair, he sinks into self-murder. This is reactionary suicide.

Connected to reactionary suicide, although even more painful and degrading, is a spiritual death that has been the experience of millions of black people in the United states. This death is found everywhere today in the Black community. Its victims have ceased to fight the forms of oppression that drink their blood. The common attitude has long been: What's the use? If a man rises up against a power as great as the United States, he will not survive. Believing this, many Blacks have been driven to a death of the spirit rather than of the flesh, lapsing into lives of quiet desperation. Yet all the while, in the heart of every Black, there is the hope that life will somehow change in the future.

I do not think that life will change for the better without an assault on the Establishment,[1] which goes on exploiting the wretched of the earth. This belief lies at the heart of the concept of revolutionary suicide. Thus it is better to oppose the forces that would drive me to self-murder than to endure them. Although I risk the likelihood of death, there is at least the possibility, if not the probability, of changing intolerable conditions. This possibility is important, because much in human existence is based upon hope without any real understanding of the odds. Indeed, we are all — Black and White alike — ill in the same way, mortally ill. But before we die, how shall we live? I say with hope and dignity; and if premature death is the result, that death has a meaning reactionary suicide can never have. It is the price of self-respect.

Revolutionary suicide does not mean that I and my comrades have a death wish; it means just the opposite. We have such a strong desire to live with hope and human dignity that existence without them is impossible. When reactionary forces crush us, we must move against these forces, even at the risk of death. We will have to be driven out with a stick.

Che Guevara said that to a revolutionary death is the reality and victory the dream. Because the revolutionary lives so dangerously, his survival is a miracle. Bakunin, who spoke for the most militant wing of the First International, made a similar statement in his *Revolutionary Catechism*. To him, the first lesson a revolutionary must learn is that he is a doomed man. Unless he understands this, he does not grasp the essential meaning of his life.

When Fidel Castro and his small band were in Mexico preparing for the Cuban Revolution, many of the comrades had little understanding of Bakunin's rule. A few hours before they set sail, Fidel went from man to man asking who should be notified in case of death. Only then did the deadly seriousness of the revolution hit home. Their struggle was no longer romantic. The scene had been exciting and animated; but when the simple, overwhelming question of death arose, everyone fell silent.

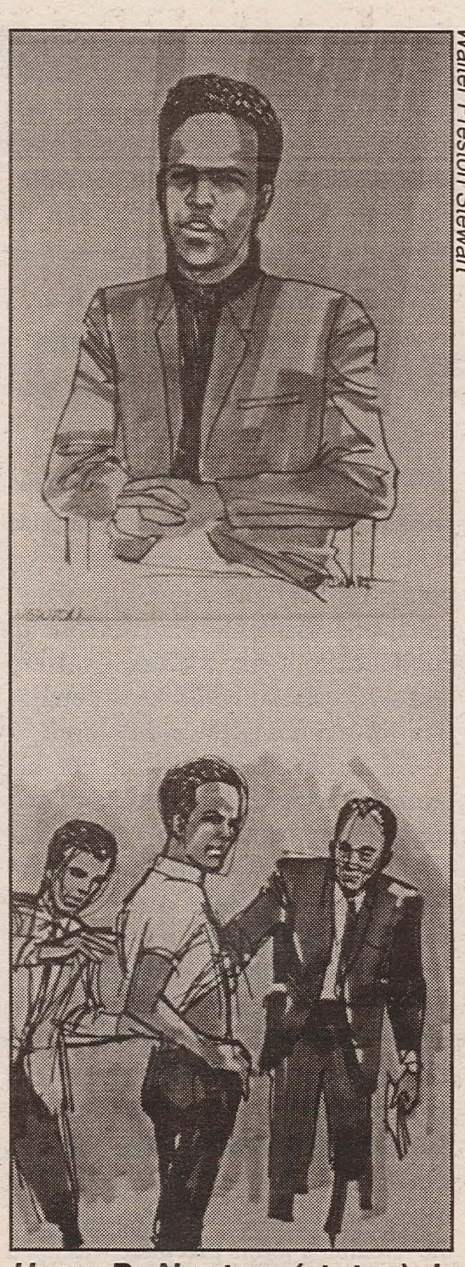
Many so-called revolutionaries in this country, Blacks and Whites, are not prepared to accept this reality. The Black Panthers are not suicidal; neither do we romanticize the consequences of revolution in our lifetime. Other so-called revolutionaries cling to an illusion that they might have their revolution and die of old age. That cannot be.

I do not expect to live through our revolution, and most serious comrades probably share my realism. Therefore, the expression "revolution in our lifetime" means something different to me than it does to other people who use it. I think the revolution will grow in my lifetime, but I do not expect to enjoy its fruits. That would be a contradiction. The reality will be grimmer.

I have no doubt that the revolution will triumph. The people of the world will prevail, seize power, seize the means of production, wipe out racism, capitalism, reactionary intercommunalism — reactionary suicide.

I have no doubt that the revolution will triumph. The people of the world will prevail, seize power, seize the means of production, wipe out racism, capitalism, reactionary intercommunalism — reactionary suicide. The people will win a new world. Yet when I think of individuals in the revolution, I cannot predict their survival. Revolutionaries must accept this fact, especially the black revolutionaries in America, whose lives are in constant danger from the evils of a colonial society. Considering how we must live, it is not hard to accept the concept of revolutionary suicide. In this we are different from white radicals. They are not faced with genocide.

The greater, more immediate problem is the survival of the entire world.



Walter Preston Stewart

Huey P. Newton (at top) in Alameda courtroom. (Below) Huey P. Newton is examined where bullet entered his abdomen by Dr. Finca with defense attorney Charles Garry assisting.

If the world does not change, all its people will be threatened by the greed, exploitation, and violence of the power structure in the American empire. The handwriting is on the wall. The United States is jeopardizing its own existence and the existence of all humanity. If Americans knew the disasters that lay ahead, they would transform this society tomorrow for their own preservation. the Black Panther Party is in the vanguard of the revolution that seeks to relieve this country of its crushing burden of guilt. We are determined to establish true equality and the means for creative work.

Some see our struggle as a symbol of the trend toward suicide among Blacks. Scholars and academics, in particular, have been quick to make this accusation. They fail to perceive differences. Jumping off a bridge is not the same as moving to wipe out the overwhelming force of an oppressive army. When scholars call our actions suicidal, they should be logically consistent and describe all historical revolutionary movements in the same way. Thus the American colonists, the French of the late eighteenth century, the Russians of 1917, the Jews of Warsaw, the Cubans, the NLF, the North Vietnamese — any people who struggle against a brutal and powerful force — are suicidal. Also, if the Black Panthers symbolize the suicidal trend among Blacks, then the whole Third World is suicidal, because the Third World fully intends to resist and overcome the ruling class of the United States. If scholars wish to carry their analysis further, they must come to terms with that four-fifths of the world which is bent on wiping out the power of the empire. In those terms the Third World would be transformed from suicidal to homicidal, although homicide is the unlawful taking of life, and the Third World is involved only in defense. Is the coin then turned? Is the government of the United States suicidal? I think so.

Revolutionary suicide does not mean that I and my comrades have a death wish; it means just the opposite. We have such a strong desire to live with hope and human dignity that existence without them is impossible.

With this redefinition, the term "revolutionary suicide" is not as simplistic as it might seem initially. In coining the phrase, I took two knowns and combined them to make an unknown, a neoteric phrase in which the word "revolutionary" transforms the word "suicide" into an idea that has different dimensions and meanings, applicable to a new and complex situation.

My prison experience is a good example of revolutionary suicide in action, for prison is a microcosm of the outside world. From the beginning of my sentence I defied the authorities by refusing to co-operate; as a result, I was confined to "lock-up," a solitary cell. As the months passed and I remained steadfast, they came to regard my behavior as suicidal. I was told that I would crack and break under the strain. I did not break, nor did I retreat from my position. I grew strong.

If I had submitted to their exploitation and done their will, it would have killed my spirit and condemned me to a living death. To co-operate in prison meant reactionary suicide to me. While solitary confinement can be physically and mentally destructive, my actions were taken with an understanding of the risk. I had to suffer through a certain situation; by doing so, my resistance told them that I rejected all they stood for. Even though my struggle might have harmed my health, even killed me, I looked upon it as a way of raising the consciousness of the other inmates, as a contribution to the ongoing revolution. Only resistance can destroy the pressures that cause reactionary suicide.

The concept of revolutionary suicide is not defeatist or fatalistic. On the contrary, it conveys an awareness of reality in combination with the possibility of hope — reality because the revolutionary must always be prepared to face death, and hope because it symbolizes a resolute determination to bring about change. Above all, it demands that the revolutionary see his death and his life as one piece. Chairman Mao says that death comes to all of us, but it varies in its significance; to die for the reactionary is lighter than a feather; to die for the revolution is heavier than Mount Tai.

All Power to the People!

1 The Power structure, based on the economic infrastructure, propped up and reinforced by the media and all the secondary educational and cultural institutions

CCBPP STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party (CCBPP) is committed to the goals of the Black Panther Party (BPP) as outlined in its Ten-Point Program which was written in 1966 by Party founders, Dr. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

The Ten-Point Program outlines goals and objectives toward changing conditions of economic exploitation and political oppression in all low-income and working class communities in the U.S. and elsewhere, as the basis for unity and solidarity.

Also, the CCBPP is committed to the concept of Revolutionary Intercommunalism, introduced by Dr. Newton in 1970 at Boston College. Our Revolutionary Intercommunalism holds that there are basically two sides. On one side there is reactionary intercommunalism which presently holds the world's low-income and working communities under conditions of economic exploitation and political oppression by controlling the wealth, resources and institutions in order to maximize profits for the few. Huey identified this side as the leading reactionary side (the ruling class) which consists of a minority, fewer than five percent of the world population. Under these conditions, reactionary intercommunalism, by and large, keeps the poor and working communities on a cycle of degradation, under conditions of reaction, desperation and poverty, with no end in sight. Newton understood that in order to change these conditions and advance the economic and cultural interests of these oppressed communities of the world, disciplined organizations must be built from the bottom up, enabling these low-income and working communities to fight exploitation and oppression by any means necessary (this fight needs to start in the advanced industrialized U.S. because our nation leads the world in political reaction and economic exploitation).

CCBPP advances and upholds the goals which the BPP outlined in its Ten-Point Program, and those goals are about ridding black ghettos and low-income and working communities of economic exploitation and political oppression, understanding that we can reach these goals only by seizing the time at the point of practice.

Black Panther Party Ten-Point Program
WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM, WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES. We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions that exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE. We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all its people and give a high standard of living.

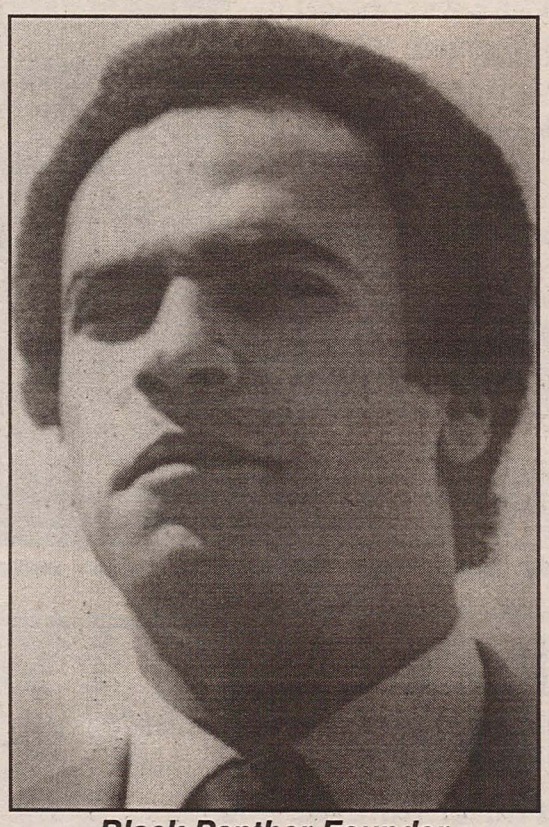
3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES. We believe that the racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency that will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS. We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people on our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE. We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities that will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but will also develop preventive medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES. We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color, and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.



Black Panther Founder, Dr. Huey P. Newton

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION. We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U. S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U. S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U. S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY, AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY. We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U. S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U. S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions that are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY. When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism. It is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

NO HANDOUTS!

REPARATIONS NOW!!!

Between 1850 and 1871, private railroad companies were awarded 130 million acres of land which frequently included property for twenty miles on either side of roadbeds. These lands were later found to contain billions of dollars of petroleum and mineral reserves. In 1862, the Homestead Act granted 160-acre tracts of federal land to white settlers without any charge. Black claimants were blocked by lynch mobs, intimidation and the refusals of local authorities to protect their claims.

In November, 1998, *Time* magazine reported that white-owned multinational corporations have been receiving in excess of $125 billion annually in recent years.

By 1916, fifty years after the Emancipation Proclamation, America had efficiently used all three of its branches of government: executive, judicial, and legislative, to halt all movement towards REPARATIONS for African Americans.

Citizen groups such as the Klan made sure that there would be very limited progress in the self-help arena. Armed with various instruments of death and torture with the co-operation of the courts, European immigrants pushed Black people out of the skilled crafts where Blacks previously had dominated, and thereby pushed our people out of the marketplace and out of landownership. Black people found that they were required to live with the injuries of slavery and the constant insults of strange, false freedom.

400 YEARS OF ETHNIC CLEANSING

"They have reinstated slavery with the war on drugs, which is really a war on Black people to kill and to eliminate Black males, railroading them to prison to slave labor in large proportions. Blacks are treated worse than war refugees.

Who are our Allies? Why are these peoples against us?" Adamah Osuntoki, Bay Area reparation activist.

Our communities are treated like occupied territories, like a country inside of a country. This great country that has ruled most of the world with the help of African slaves is now turning its war machine on its own African people in the form of a secret (and not so secret) *ethnic cleansing*.

IN FACT, LARGE PORTIONS OF THOSE EUROPEANS THAT OUR BLACK FATHERS FOUGHT ALONG SIDE WITH PROTECTING THEIR NATIONS AGAINST HITLER'S MURDERS — AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THEIR COUNTRIES — CAME TO THE UNITED STATES REAPING THE BENEFIT OF WHITE SKIN PRIVILEGES WHILE THEIR SYSTEM OF OPPRESSION DESTROYED AFRICAN AMERICANS, WHICH THE GOVERNMENT CONDONES TO THIS DAY.

S103 CONGRESS **H.R. 40**

1st Session

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

January 5, 1993

Mr. Conyers introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

A BILL

To acknowledge the fundamental injustice, cruelty, brutality, and inhumanity of slavery in the United States and the 13 American colonies between 1619 and 1865 and to establish a commission to examine the institution of slavery, subsequent *de jure* and *de facto* racial and economic discrimination against African Americans, and the impact of these forces on living African Americans to make recommendations to the Congress on appropriate remedies and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled

N'COBRA

The National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) has fought to win reparations for the U.S. descendants of enslaved Africans for over ten years. We are now ready to take our struggle to a new level. Our legal team has filed a class action suit against the United States government on our behalf. To support this lawsuit and other legal options, we have launched a **One Million Member Drive (MMD)**. The **MMD** will enable us to significantly advance our effort to obtain reparations by reaching the following goals:

to significantly raise the level of national and international exposure that the issue of reparation receives;

to enable N'COBRA to comfortably pay for the enormous lawsuit which the Legal Strategies Commission is preparing;

to enable N'COBRA to significantly firm up our political lobbying efforts;

to secure the physical and technological facilities required to take our efforts to the next level; and

to enable individuals to work full time toward obtaining reparations for Blacks.

Reparations for U.S. descendants of enslaved Africans is obtainable and N'COBRA needs your help in this monumental battle toward self-determination. We need you to get involved in this effort; the minimal level of involvement we need is for you to take out a $10 annual membership. If you would like to get more deeply involved call the phone number listed below.

❑ Yes! I want to be one in a million, make me a member of N'COBRA for only $10/year.
❑ I am enclosing a contribution to support the N'COBRA Legal Fund for Reparations.

NAME PHONE

ADDRESS FAX

CITY/STATE/ZIP CODE AMOUNT ENCLOSED

N'COBRA provides a forum where all of our people can air their concerns and opinions on how to win the struggle and how the resources can be put to the best use for our repair!!

For more information about REPARATIONS and how to become active in REPARATIONS for African Americans contact:

N'COBRA at P.O. Box 62622, Washington, D.C. 20029-2622 Fax(202)635-9060/http://www.ncobra.com.

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